THE WARS IN ENGLAND Scotland *and* Ireland.

OR

An Impartial Account of all the *Battels, Sieges,* and other Remarkable *Transactions, Revolutions* and *Accidents,* which have happened from the beginning of the Reign of King *CHARLES* I. in 1625, to His Majesties happy Restauration, 1660.

Illustrated with Pictures of some Considerable matters curiously Ingraven on Copper Plates.

By Rich. Burton.

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TO THE READER.

THis *small Volume is intended for the use of those who cannot go to the price of a greater: and yet would willingly be informed of those wonderful Transactions and Revolutions which have happened in these Three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *in this last Age, and within the memory of many now living: And though it cannot be expected that a large Account of every particular* Accident *can be comprehended in this little* Compendium, *yet I have endeavoured, without the least passion or partiality, briefly to comprise the most considerable* Matters.

Now as the Things here inserted are more remarkable, both for their Variety and quality, than it may be ever happened at any time heretofore in so short a space; so the serious perusal and consideration thereof may be very useful and necessary for quieting the present Discontents and deplorable Distractions that are now amongst us; since these were the Fore-runners of those miserable Wars, Ruins, and Desolations which are herein related; wherein all Bonds of Religion, Alliance and Friendship, were utterly destroyed: Wherein Fathers and Children, Kindred and Acquaintance, became unnatural Enemies to each other; so that with some little Variation we may

apply what Lucan *writes of the Civil Wars of* Rome *to* England *in thoſe times.*

Wars more than Civil on the *Britiſh* Plains
Then happened; and *England* Diſtains
In her own Bowels her Victorious Swords;
Where Kindred Hoſts Encounter, all Accords
Of Empire broke; where arm'd to Impious War,
The ſtrength of all the ſhaken Land from far
Is met; known Enſigns, Enſigns do defie,
Fathers by Sons, and Sons by Fathers die.
What fury Countrey-men, what madneſs cou'd
Move you to feaſt your Foes with *Engliſh* Blood,
And chuſe ſuch Wars as could no Triumphs yield.
Whilſt yet proud *Babylon* unconquer'd held.
Alaſs what ſeas, what lands might you have ta'ne,
With that bloods loſs, which your own hands have drawn.

Let us all therefore who pretend to the name of Chriſtians, ſtudy to be quiet, and follow Peace with all men; *which is the moſt Effectual means to prevent thoſe Confuſions and Miſeries which we have lately ſuffered, and under the effects whereof we ſtill groan: and that this ſhort Narrative may be uſeful to this purpoſe, is the earneſt and hearty deſire of*

Your Countrey-man and Well-wiſher,
RICHARD BURTON.

THE WARS IN *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland,* &c.

BEfore we proceed to give an Account of thoſe Unnatural Wars, Ruins, and Devaſtations, which have happened in theſe Kingdoms in this Laſt Age, it may ſeem neceſſary by way of Introduction, to give a Relation of ſeveral previous Tranſactions before theſe Woful Calamities befel us.

Upon the 27th day of *March*, in the year 1625. King *James* departed this life at *Theobalds* in the Fifty ninth year of his Age, when he had reigned Twenty two years compleat: And in the Afternoon of the ſame day *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, his only Son then living was Proclaimed King of *Great Brittain*, *France* and *Ireland*.

The firſt thing he did, was performing the Ceremonies of his Fathers Funeral, in which the King himſelf in Perſon followed as chief Mourner immediately after the Herſe; having his Train of black Velvet born up by the Twelve Peers of the Realm; at his right hand the

Earl of *Arundel* and at his left the Earl of *Pembroke*. He then proceeded to consummate the Marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, younger Daughter of the Great *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, whom he had formerly seen in his Journey through that Countrey into *Spain*; his first complement to her, when he went to meet her at *Dover*, was, *That he desired to be no longer Master of himself, than he was Servant to her*, which indeed he made good, for on the day before his deplorable death, he desired his Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, to assure her Mother, if ever she saw her again, *That his Thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his Affections should be the same to the last.*

The King then called a parliament, which Assembled the Eighteenth of *June* following, to whom he represented in a short Speech, 'The urgent necessity of raising 'a Subsidy, since it would not agree with his Kingly 'honour to shrink from the War with *Spain*, which his 'Father upon solid Considerations had by consent of 'both Houses undertaken; although prevented by 'death from putting it in Execution: That Money, the 'sinews of War, must be levied, without which neither Army nor Fleet could move, former Contributions being already disbursed to a penny: That he 'should seem ridiculous to all *Europe*, if he did not 'now at length proceed to Action; That it was his 'first Enterprize, the success whereof would have great influence upon his following Reign: That it concerned 'their own Reputations herein to Assist him effectually, 'lest the world should judge them to have betray'd their 'King: That Celerity was necessary because of Winter 'then approaching, a season prejudicial to Martial Attempts: the Pestilence at that time Reigning in the 'City, which in all probability might cause a sudden 'Dissolution of their Meeting: All which Arguments 'if duly considered, did evidently demonstrate, That 'it was most Honourable, Opportune and safe, to undertake 'Expedition in the business. As for Religion and Ma-

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'ner of Government, he was reſolved to tread in his Fa-
'thers ſteps, hoping that his former life had miniſtered
'no juſt grounds for them to ſuſpect the contrary.

The Parliament acknowledge theſe Arguments for a Subſidy to be very rational, but yet would not ſuddenly reſolve upon it, till they had firſt preſented their two Petitions, concerning Reaſons of Religion, and Complaint of their ſufferings, which points had been offered to his Father King *James*, in the cloſe of his laſt Parliament; and by his death were left hitherto unanſwered.

In both which they received competent ſatisfaction, and likewiſe an account of the Arrears which were due to the Forces both by Sea and Land, together with an Eſtimate of the future Charge and Expence of the *Spaniſh* War; upon which the King obtained of the Laity freely and abſolutely, Two Subſidies to be paid by Proteſtants, and four from Papiſts; and three Subſidies from the Clergy. In this Parliament Dr. *Montague* the Kings Chaplain was queſtioned for certain Tenets in his Anſwer to a Book called the *Romiſh Gagger*; and his defence thereof, intituled *Appello ad Cæſarem*: And he being brought before the Bar of the Houſe, the Speaker declared their pleaſure; *That they would refer his Cenſure till the next meeting; and in the mean time he ſhould ſtand committed to the Serjeants Ward, till two Thouſand Pound Bail could be procured for his appearance next Seſſions*: And though the King took him into Protection, as his Servant, yet his Bail-bond remained uncancelled.

Divers Laws were Enacted in this Parliament, as one *about Obſervation of the Lords Day*; another *for reſtraint of Tipling in Inns, Alehouſes*, &c. There paſſed likewiſe in the Houſe of Commons, *A Bill for Tunnage and Poundage*; but this miſcarried in the Houſe of Lords, becauſe the Commons had limited it to a year, whereas it was formerly granted to the Kings Predeceſſors during their lives; it being intended to reduce the Cuſtoms to the rate, at which they were ſettled in the Reign of Queen *Mary*.

During the ſitting of the Parliament, the Lord *Mordant* a Papiſt, and his Wife a Proteſtant, being both deſirous of each others Converſion, they put their cauſe upon a diſpute between *James Uſher* L. Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and one *Rookwood* a Jeſuite, who called himſelf *Beaumont*; this was acted at *Drayton* in *Northamptonſhire*: the points diſputed on were, *Tranſubſtantiation*, *Praying to Saints*, *Images*, *and the Viſibility of the Church*; wherein the Learned Primate ſo foil'd his Adverſary, that the Lord *Mordant* was convinced and Converted to the *Proteſtant Religion*, and his Lady further confirmed therein.

On the Eleventh of *July* 1626. the Parliament by reaſon of the ſickneſs, Adjourned till *Auguſt* 1. and then met again at *Oxford*, where the King firſt by himſelf, and next by his two Secretaries, the Lord *Conway* and Sir *John Cook*, declared to them the neceſſity of ſetting forth a Fleet, for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, which was the Countrey of the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*, who married the Kings Siſter, and was then unjuſtly detained from him by the Emperour of *Germany*, and the King of *Spain*; the Lord Treaſurer likewiſe inſtanced the ſeveral Sums of Money, which King *James* died indebted to the City of *London*.

This occaſioned very warm Debates in the Houſe of Commons, who alledged, *That evil Councils guided the Kings Deſigns*; *That the Treaſury was miſimployed*; *That our neceſſities aroſe through Improvidence*: *That it would be neceſſary to Petition the King for a ſtricter hand and better Council to manage his Affairs*: *That though a former Parliament engaged the King in a War, yet if things were managed with Contrary deſigns, and the Treaſure miſimployed, this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in Deſigns, not guided by ſound Council*: *That it was not uſual to grant Subſidies upon Subſidies in one Parliament, and no Grievances redreſſed*. With ſeveral other Paſſages of the like Nature.

They likewiſe very much reflected upon the miſcarriages of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was then a perſon of very conſiderable Truſt: but however they promiſed

miſed to conſider of the Kings deſires, and preſented him a Petition againſt *Popiſh* Recuſants, giving an account of their damage, aſcribing certain Cauſes of their growth, and offering divers Remedies thereunto; unto which a ſatisfactory Anſwer (if any thing would have ſatisfied) was returned: And hereupon there followed a Debate about Supplies; ſome were for contributing preſently, others demurr'd, as diſliking the deſign in hand; and in concluſion the Major part agreed not to give: And being incenſed againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, they began to think of diveſting him of his Offices, and to require an account of the Publick Monies wherewith he had been intruſted; all which they intended to include in an humble Remonſtrance: to prevent which the King reſolved to Diſſolve the Parliament; and accordingly the Uſher of the Black Rod was ſent from the Houſe of Lords to the Commons, who were then reſolved into a Grand Committee; and underſtanding the Kings pleaſure, they cauſed the Speaker to keep his Seat, while they agreed upon a Meſſage of Thanks to his Majeſty for his Gracious Anſwer to their Petition for Religion, and for his care of their Health, in giving them leave to depart this dangerous time of ſickneſs; with a dutiful Declaration of their affection and Loyalty, and of their purpoſing to ſupply him in a Parliamentary way, in fit and convenient time: After which they were accordingly diſſolved.

Now the War with *Spain* being intended both for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, and to prevent diſturbance in our Civil Eſtate, the Council hereupon reſolve with all ſpeed to ſet forth a Fleet, and to preſerve ſtrict Unity and Peace with *France*, *Denmark*, and the *United Provinces*, and with the *Hollanders* the King had already entered into a League Offenſive and Defenſive againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and likewiſe had promiſed to aſſiſt them in ſoliciting other Princes to enter into the ſame Confederation, upon Condition that they ſhould bear a Fourth part of the Charge of the Fleet, and in purſuance hereof, the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of

Holland

Holland were ſent to the *Hague*, and there meeting with the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Denmark*, they concluded a League for reſtoring the Liberties of *Germany*; the two laſt Ambaſſadors having no further power from their Supreams.

A while after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the King publiſhed a Proclamation, Commanding the return of all Children of Noble-men, which had been ſent to be Educated in *Seminaries* and *Popiſh* Schools beyond Sea; that none who had received Orders from *Rome*, ſhould preſume to confer Orders or Exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Functions in any of his Dominions; and likewiſe that the Statute be put in Execution for the departure of Prieſts and Jeſuites, out of his Majeſties Dominions.

By reaſon of the Diſſolving the Parliament, the *Act of Subſidies* was prevented, and the King was neceſſitated to take up Money upon *Loan* of ſuch Perſons as were of Ability to lend; and to that end he directed his Letters to the Lord Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties, *To return the Names of thoſe Men whom they thought moſt ſufficient, the places of their Habitations, and what Sums each might be judged able to lend*; and to the perſons returned, Letters were Iſſued forth in the Kings Name to this purpoſe,

That his Majeſty having obſerved in the Preſidents and Cuſtoms of former times, That all the Kings and Queens of this Realm, upon extraordinary occaſions have uſed either to reſort to thoſe Contributions which ariſe from the generality of Subjects, or to the private helps of ſome well affected in particular, *by way of* loan; *in the former of which, as his Majeſty has no doubt in the Love and Affection of his People, when they ſhall again Aſſemble in Parliament*; *ſo for the preſent he was inforced to proceed in the latter courſe for ſupply of ſome Portions of Treaſure for divers publick Services, which without manifold Inconvenie nces to his Majeſty, and his Kingdoms cannot be deferr'd: and therefore this being the firſt time that his Majeſty hath required any thing of this kind, he doubts not but he ſhall receive ſuch a Teſtimony of good*

Affection

Affection from them among other of his Subjects, and that with such alacrity and readiness as may make the same so much the more acceptable; especially since his Majesty required but the Sum which few men would deny a Friend, and has a mind resolved to expose all his Earthly Fortune for Preservation of the General; The Sum which His Majesty requires by these presents is —— *which His Majesty promiseth in the Name of himself, his Heirs, and Successors, to repay to them or their Assigns, within Eighteen Months after the payment thereof to the Collector: The Person whom his Majesty hath appointed is —— to whose* hands his Maiesty doth require them to send it *within Twelve days after they have received this Privy Seal; which together with the Collectors Acquittance, shall be sufficient warrant to the Officers of Receipt for their payment thereof at the time limited: And the Collectors of the Loan* were ordered to pay the Sums received into the Exchequer, and to return the Names of such as went about to delay or excuse the Payment of the Sums required.

And now about the beginning of *October* the Fleet set to Sea, the Lord *Cecil*, second Son to the Earl of *Exeter*, commanding the Land Forces, and the Earl of *Essex* being Vice Admiral at Sea; but they were surprized by so violent a Storm, that the greatest part of the Navy which in all made up Fourscore Ships (some being *Dutch*) were dissipated and scattered for seven days together, and an excellent Ship with an 170 Passengers in her, were all cast away, and lost; the Design was to have surprized *Cadiz* in *Spain*, to burn the Ships in the Harbour, and to have taken the *Spanish* Plate Fleet, which was daily expected from the *Indies*; but by reason of the Plague amongst them, and some other miscarriages of the Commanders, the business was wholly disappointed, and the Fleet returned home but four days before the Plate Fleet came.

Upon the Second of *February* was the Coronation, at which the King did not pass through the City in State from the *Tower*, as was usual, but went by Water from *Whitehal* to *Westminster*, for fear of the danger of a Concourse of people; the Pestilence which raged the year before

before not being quite ceaſed: The Biſhop of *Lincoln* as Dean of *Weſtminſter*, ſhould have performed the chief part of the Ceremony, but being under diſpleaſure, Dr. *Laud*, then Biſhop of St. *Davids* ſupplied his place.

Divers conſiderable Forces had been raiſed both for Sea and Land, for the better Diſcipline of whom 150 old Souldiers were ſent for from the *Netherlands*, by whoſe Induſtry they were brought into ſome good order againſt the meeting of the next Parliament, which was ſummoned to ſit, *Feb. 6.* And being met accordingly, the Houſe of Commons choſe Sir *Heneage Finch* for their Speaker.

The firſt buſineſs they inſiſted upon, was the rendring thanks to the King for his gracious Anſwer to their late Petition concerning Religion; then they debated of the publick Grievances, *viz.* The miſcarrying of the Fleet at *Cadiz*: the evil Counſellors about the King; miſimploying the Kings Revenue; an Account of the Subſidies and three Fifteens, granted in the 21 Year of King *James*: And in the Committee of Grievances, theſe four particulars were inſiſted on, 1. The ſtate of the King in the conſtant Revenue of the Crown, and how much it had been diminiſhed by Gifts of Lands, Grants of Penſions, Fruitleſs Embaſſies, the Privy Purſe, and other ways. 2. The Condition of the Subject in his Freedom, about laying new impoſitions, multiplying Monopolies, Levying of Cuſtoms without Act of Parliament, and waſting the Treaſure. 3. The Cauſe of the Nations good ſucceſs in former times, whereby it was feared, Victorious and Renowned abroad; which they judged was occaſioned by the Wiſdom and Gravity of Counſel, who ordered nothing but by publick Debate; whereby there aroſe a readineſs in the People to Aſſiſt their Soveraign in Purſe and Perſon. 4. The preſent Condition of the Kingdom, wherein was repreſented the loſs of its wonted Reputation, through the ill ſucceſs at *Algier* in the *Palatinate*, in Count *Manſfields* Expedition, and at *Cadiz*; and this was imputed to the want of ſuch Counſels as were formerly uſed; ſince for fear of not ſuc-

ſucceeding, men were now afraid of venturing either their Perſons or Purſes.

There was likewiſe a Committee concerning Religion and the growth of Popery, wherein Mr. *Richard Montagues* two Books before mentioned were again queſtioned, and Articles drawn up againſt him, charging him with ſeveral Paſſages for encouraging Popery, and drawing his Majeſties Subjects from the true Religion Eſtabliſhed into Error and Superſtition, with other paſſages diſhonourable to the late King, and full of injurious and railing Language againſt other Perſons; as likewiſe that he endeavoured to raiſe Factions in the Kingdom, by caſting the ſcandalous Name of *Puritan* upon ſuch of his Majeſties Subjects as conformed themſelves to the Doctrine of the Church of *Eng.* upon which the Houſe of Commons ordered that he ſhould be brought to Exemplary Puniſhment, and to have his Books burnt; nor do we find that he ever made any Defence or Anſwer to thoſe Articles that were brought againſt him: It is affirmed that a while before the ſitting of the Parliament, Dr. *Laud* underſtanding from the D. of *Buckingham*, that the King intended to leave Mr. *Montague* to a Tryal, was heard to utter theſe words, *I ſeem to ſee a Cloud ariſing and threatning the Church of* England, *God in his Mercy diſſipate it.*

After this the Commons queſtioned ſeveral perſons who were of the Council of War, upon the Affairs of the *Palatinate*, concerning the management of that buſineſs, complaint was likewiſe made in the Houſe of the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Nobility, for claiming precedency of the Peers of *England*; of which redreſs was promiſed; but a while after the Lord *Martrevers*, Eldeſt Son and Heir to the Earl of *Arundel*, Married the Daughter of the late Duke of *Lenox*, contrary to the Kings Mind, who intended her for the Lord *Lorn*, Son and Heir of the Earl of *Argile*; whereupon the Earl of *Arundel* was committed to the *Tower*; whereupon the Peers Petitioned to the King, alledging, *That no Peer ſitting in the Parliament, is to be impriſoned without Order from the Houſe of Lords, unleſs*

unleſs for Felony, Treaſon, or denying to give ſecurity for the Peace. Upon this there aroſe a Diſpute, which laſted for the ſpace of two Months, and then the Earl was ſet at Liberty.

In which time the Houſe of Commons were very buſie in ſearching the *Signet Office*, for the Original of a Letter under the *Signet*, written to the Mayor of *York*, for reprieving divers Jeſuites, Prieſts, and other *Popiſh* Recuſants: This was reported by Mr. *Pim* Chairman to the Committee for Religion; but their proceedings therein were interrupted by a Meſſage from the King, ſent by Sir *Richard Weſton*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, demanding a ſupply for the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Forces. This was ſo highly reſented, that one Mr. *Clement Cook*, one of the Members openly Proteſted, *That it was better to die by a a Forreign Enemy, than to be deſtroyed at home:* And Dr. *Turner* another of the Houſe ſeconded him with theſe Queries.

1. *Whether the King had not loſt the Regality of the Narrow Seas ſince the Duke of* Buckingham *was Admiral?* 2. *Whether his going as Admiral in this laſt Fleet, was not the cauſe of its ill Succeſs, and return without any conſiderable Action?* 3. *Whether the Kings Treaſure hath not been impaired by the Dukes Immenſe Liberality?* 4. *Whether he hath not Ingroſſed all Offices; and preferr'd his Kindred to moſt places?* 5. *Whether he hath not ſold places of Judicature?* 6. *Whether* Popiſh *Recuſants have not dependance upon his Mother and Father in Law.*

Theſe bold expreſſions ſo provoked the King, that he immediately ſent Sir *Richard Weſton* to demand Satisfaction of the Houſe of Commons; whereupon Dr. *Turner* preſently after made a Speech in Vindication, and for explaining himſelf, alledging, *That what he had ſaid was for the good of the Kingdom, and not reflecting upon any one in particular. That to accuſe upon common Fame, he thought to be a Parliamentary way, and warranted by the Canons of the Church, the* Imperial *Laws, and by Ancient Preſidents: the Duke of* Suffolk *in King* Hen. *the Sixths time, having been accuſed upon Common Fame. He added likewiſe, That Mr.*

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Chancellor *himself had presented some persons upon particular Fame, and that he knew no reason why himself might not in that place have as ample Priviledge*; and the further debate of the matter being referr'd till another time, Dr. *Turner* in the mean space writ a Letter to the Speaker to excuse his absence, by reason of some Indisposition, and to signifie his desire of putting himself wholly upon the Judgment and Censure of Parliament.

Sir *William Waller*, speaking his Opinion concerning Grievances, said, *That the true Cause of them, was, because (as was said of* Lewis *the* 11*th of* France*) all the Kings Council Rode upon one Horse*, And that therefore His Majesty was to be advised, as *Moses* was by *Jethro*, to make choice of Councellors, to assist him that should be thus qualified: 1. *Noble*, not Upstarts and of a Nights Growth. 2. *Men of Courage*, such as would execute their own places, and not commit them to undeserving Deputies. 3. *Fearing God*, not inclining to false Worship or halting between two Opinions. 4. *Dealing truly*, not given to Flattery, or favouring Courtship; but such as might be safely trusted by the King and Kingdom. 5. *Hating Covetousness*, not such as lived upon other Mens Means, or that would take Bribes, or sell places in Church or State, or about the King 6. *To be many, in the multitude of Counsellors there being safety.* 7. To judge of small matters as well as great (the greatest being to be refer'd to the King) much less any one Counsellour alone to manage all business. 8. *Elders*, not young and unexperienced Men, through whose rash and unadvised proceedings, great Designs many times miscarry.

And herein he was seconded by Sir *John Eliot*, who represented to the House, The present State of the Kingdom, and the great dishonour the King and Kingdom had sustained by several miscarriages, and ill management of Matters of the highest Trust; he likewise mentioned Two Presidents, the first in the 16 year of *Hen.* 3. when the Parliament denied the Subsidies demanded till the great Officers were Examined; and *Hugh de Burg* being found guilty of Corruption was displaced

placed. Another example was in the tenth year of *Rich.* 2. when Supply was required, and the Commons complaining that the Earl of *Suffolk* then over-ruled all, they returned Answer, *That they could not give.*

But notwithstanding these Discourses, the Commons taking the Kings necessities into Consideration, Voted Three Subsidies, and Three Fifteens, and that the Bill should be brought in, as soon as the Grievances which were represented, were redressed. They likewise considered of the matter of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the misimploying the Revenue; and ordered that the Duke should again have notice of their Intentions therein: But the King observing they did not make such hast as he expected, to answer his last Message, summons both Houses together; and by the Lord Keeper complains to them, 'For not punishing Dr. *Turner*, and Mr. *Cook*, and 'likewise for searching his Signet Office, and also justifi-'ed the Duke of *Buckingham* to have acted nothing of 'publick Imployment without his special Warrant, and 'therefore forbid them to concern themselves any fur-'ther therein, as looking upon it to be Libelling his own 'Government; lastly he blamed them for being too spa-'ring in the matter of Supply, and for ordering the Bill 'not to be brought in till their Grievances were heard 'and answered, which he would not admit of. This was the substance of the Lord Keepers Speech, to which the King himself added.

He must also put them in mind that his Father moved by their Counsel and won by their persuasions, broke the Treaties: and that he himself was their Instrument towards his Father, and was glad to be Instrumental in any thing which might please the whole Body of the Realm, nor was there any then in greater Favour than the Duke, whom they now traduced; but that now finding him so far intangled in a War, that he could make no honourable nor safe Retreat, they made necessity their Priviledge, and set what rate they pleased upon their Supplies, a Practice not very obliging *towards Kings: and whereas Mr.* Cook *told them,* That it was better for them to die by a Forreign Enemy, than to be destroyed at home:

Indeed

Indeed he thought it to be more Honourable for a King to be Invaded, and almoſt deſtroyed by a Forreign Enemy, than to be deſpiſed at home.

After this at a Conference of both Houſes in the Painted Chamber, the Duke of *Buckingham* was commanded by the King, to explain ſome Expreſſions in the Kings and the Lord Chancellors Speeches, which might be ſubject to miſunderſtanding; which the Duke performed accordingly, and then gave a large Account of his Negotiation in the *Low Countries*; as ſoon as the Duke had ended, the Lord *Conway* diſcourſed of the Treaties of *Denmark* and *France*, and the buſineſs of the Navy, and affirmed they were not done by ſingle Counſel, ſince King *James* himſelf commanded it.

The Commons in anſwer to the Kings laſt Speech, preſented him with a Remonſtrance to this purpoſe; *That they gratefully acknowledged His Majeſties Expreſſions of Affection to his People and Parliament*; *That they had taken Mr.* Cooks *and Dr.* Turners *words into Conſideration, and might have given a good Account thereof by this time, if his Majeſties Meſſage had not interrupted them*; *That they had the Preſidents of former Parliaments for ſearching the Letters of his Majeſty and his Secretary of State, the Signet Office and other Records, upon the like occaſions*; *That it was the unqueſtionable Priviledge of Parliaments to complain of any Perſon of any degree, and their proceedings in relation to the Duke ſhould not prejudice either Crown or Kingdom: That they were willing to ſupply his Neceſſities Liberally and Faithfully, if Additions might be made of other things which concerned his Service, and were now in Conſultation among them.*

His Majeſty having received it, returned this ſhort Anſwer thereunto, *That he would have them in the firſt place, Conſult about Matters of the greateſt Importance, and that they ſhould have time enough for other things afterward.*

This happened in the year 1626, and in the Second Year of his Majeſties Reign; about which time the Earl of *Briſtol* being ordered by the King to be Examined by a Committee of Lords concerning his Negotiation in

in *Spain*, and having been in Priſon and prohibited acceſs to His Majeſty ever ſince his return) received a Letter from the Lord *Conway*, wherein, in order to his Relief he propounded to him from His Majeſty this Choice, *Whether he would be quiet, and not be queſtioned for what was paſt, and enjoy the benefit of the late Gracious* Pardon *or whether he would ſtand upon his Juſtification?* To which he Anſwered *That he did humbly acknowledge and accept of his Majeſties Grace and Favour*; And at the ſame time he Petitioned the Houſe of Lords for his Liberty, or to come to a Tryal; who applying themſelves to his Majeſty; he granted a Writ for the Earls coming to Parliament, but with a Proviſo, That his Perſonal Attendance ſhould be forborn; wherupon the Earl ſent another Petition to the Lords that he might be heard, both as to his Reſtraint, and of what he had to ſay againſt the Duke. At which the King was much concerned, and ſignified to the Lords, *That it was his Royal Pleaſure, that the Earl of* Briſtol *might be ſent for as a Delinquent to anſwer his Offences to the Houſe, and his ſcandalizing the Duke of* Buckingham *and his Majeſty likewiſe by Reflection.*

Upon this the Earl was accordingly brought to the Bar, and being ready to be impeacht of High Treaſon by the Attorney General, he beſought their Lordſhips, *That as he was a Freeman and Peer of this Realm untainted, and had ſomething to ſay of high Conſequence for his Majeſties Service, he might have liberty to ſpeak.* Which being granted him, he ſaid, *I accuſe that Man the Duke of* Buckingham *of High Treaſon.* This unexpected procedure of the Earl, occaſioned the Attorney General to draw up a Charge againſt him, conſiſting of Eleven Articles containing Matters of divers Natures; whereupon the Earl afterwards gave a large Account of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s proceedings towards him, and then preferr'd Twelve Articles againſt him; and beſides theſe Articles againſt the Duke, the Earl of *Briſtol* exhibited Eleven others againſt the Lord *Conway*: the Earl likewiſe gave in his Anſwer to each particular Article of his impeachment.

Now whilſt theſe two Peers were thus conteſting, the Houſe

House of Commons presented an Impeachment to the Lords against the Duke, consisting of Twelve Articles, to each of which the Duke made Replies, and the last of them being a matter of general Discourse, it may seem necessary to insert it, with the Dukes Answer thereto.

'That the Duke being a Sworn Servant of the late King 'did cause and provide certain Plaisters and Potions 'for his late Majesty K *James* in his last Sickness without 'the Privity of his Majesties Physicians, and that al- 'though those Plaisters and Potions formerly applied, 'produced such ill Effects, as many of his Sworn Phy- 'sitians did disallow as prejudicial to his Majesties Health, 'yet the Duke did apply them again to his Majesty; 'whereupon great Distempers, and dangerous Symptoms 'appeared in him, which the Physicians imputed to those 'Administrations of the Duke, whereof his late Majesty 'also complained: which is an Offence and Misdemeanor 'of so high a Nature as may be called an Act of Trans- 'cendent Presumption: And the said Commons by Pro- 'testation, saving to themselves the liberties of exhibiting 'hereafter any other Accusation, or Impeachment against 'the Duke. and also of Replying unto what the Duke 'shall Answer unto the said Articles, do pray, That the 'said Duke may be put to Answer all and every the Pre- 'misses, and that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals 'and Judgments, may be upon every of them had as is 'agreeable to Law and Justice.

To this Article the Duke of *Buckingham* Replyed, *That his late Majesty being sick of an ague, a Disease out of which the Duke recovered not long before, asked the Duke what he found most Advantageous to his Health? The Duke replyed, a Plaister and Posset Drink administred unto him by the Earl of* Warwick's *Physician, whereupon the King much desired the Plaister and Posset drink to be sent for, and the Duke delaying it, the King commanded a Servant of the Dukes to go for it, against the Dukes earnest request; he humbly craving his Majesty not to make use of it, without the Advice of his own Physicians and Experiment upon others; which the King said he would do, and in confidence thereof the Duke left him, and went to* London,

and

and in the mean time he being abſent, the ſaid Plaiſter, and Poſſet Drink were brought; and at the Dukes return, his Majeſty commanded the Duke to give him the Poſſet Drink; which he did, the Phyſicians then preſent not ſeeming to miſlike it: afterwards the Kings Health declining, and the Duke hearing a Rumour as if his Phyſick had done his Majeſty hurt, and that he had adminiſtred Phyſick without advice; the Duke acquainted the King therewith, who with much diſcontent replyed, They are worſe than Devils that ſay ſo.

About this time the King again earneſtly preſſed the Houſe of Commons for a ſpeedy Supply, by their Speaker Sir *Heneage Finch*; giving them to underſtand, *That if there did not paſs the Bill of Subſidy by the end of the week following, it would enforce him to take other Reſolutions; and if by their denial, or delay any thing of ill conſequence ſhould fall out either at home, or abroad, he called God and Man to witneſs, that he had done his part to prevent it, by calling his People together to adviſe with him; whoſe ſitting (if they diſpatched this according to his deſire) he reſolved to continue, for the diſpatch of other Affairs, and after their Receſs to bring them again together the next Winter.*

Before the Commons ſent an Anſwer, they drew up a Petition to his Majeſty. 'That he would be pleaſed 'to Remove from all places of Truſt and Authority, all 'ſuch Perſons as were either Popiſh Recuſants, or ac-'cording to the Direction of former Acts of State, juſt-'ly to be ſuſpected to be ſuch. And herewith they likewiſe ſent a large Scrowl of the Names of all ſuch Noblemen and others as continued in places of high Truſt in the ſeveral Counties of *England*.'

The Anſwer to the late Articles againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, being by him delivered into the Lords Houſe, he deſired their Lordſhips to ſend to the Commons for a ſpeedy Reply; whereupon the Commons required a Copy of his Anſwer. But the Duke fearing what might be the Effect thereof, humbly applied himſelf to the Lords, whom he intreated to allow him the benefit of a free and general Pardon granted by King *James* in Parliament in the 21ſt, Year of his Reign and likewiſe that of the Coronation. Pre-

Presently after the Commons drew up another Declaration of Grievances against the Duke, whom they resolved utterly to overthrow, though contrary to the Inclination of the King; who being thereat incensed, dissolved the Parliament the very next day, *June* 15. 1626. and committed the Earl of *Bristol* to the Tower, publishing a Proclamation for burning all Copies of the said Declaration. After which the King published a Declaration, shewing the Grounds and Reasons of his Dissolving this and the former Parliament.

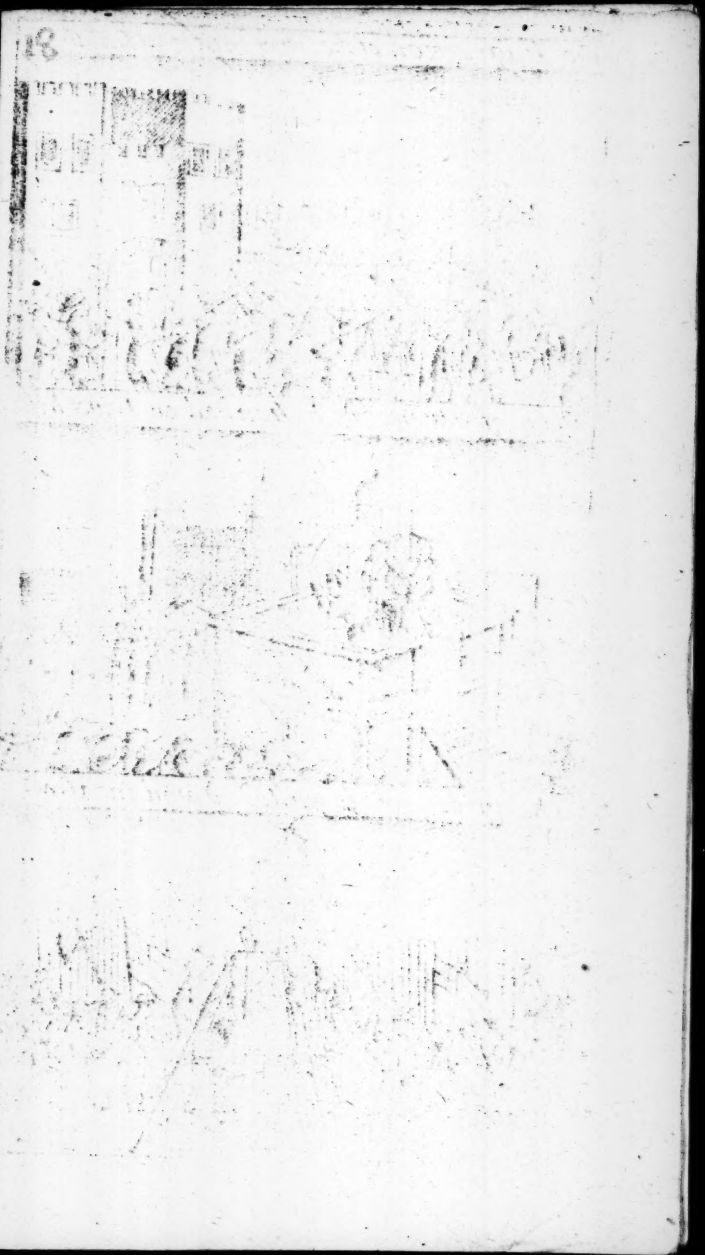
Then several ways were Resolved on for advancing the Kings Revenue, and special care was taken by the Council for the levying of Customs and Imposts upon all Merchandizes Imported and Exported, as being intended to have been settled by the Two last Parliaments, but prevented by their sudden Dissolution, the Forfeitures of Papists likewise, which had been misimployed, were now taken into a more strict Account; *Privy Seals* also were issued out and *Benevolence* proposed, and at length a Commission for a General *Loan* was resolved upon, as the most convenient Method, since the present state of Affairs admitted not of the way of a Parliament and private Instructions were given to the Commissioners how to manage the business which upon their Faith and Allegiance they were commanded to keep Secret, and not disclose to any.

About this time some Souldiers returned from *Cadiz*, and were Quartered in the Countries, and Money was raised for them, which made this Loan the more unwelcome; and Sir *Randolph Crew* for not appearing vigorous in promoting the Loan, was displaced from being L. Chief Justice, and Sir *Nich. Hyde* advanced in his place; the Bishop of *Lincoln* was likewise informed against in the *Star Chamber* by Sir *John Lamb*, and Dr. *Sybthorp*, for speaking against the Loan, and seeming to favour the the Puritans and Nonconformists: Not long before which Bishop *Laud* (hearing that the Bishop of *Lincoln* endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the D. of *Buckingham*) Dreamed, *Viz. the Bishop came to him with Iron Chains*,

Chains, but returned free from them, that he leaped upon a Horſe, departed and he could not overtake him; which was afterwards interpreted concerning the Biſhop of *Lincolns* taking Arms for the Parliament in *Wales*; and his being at liberty, when Biſhop *Laud* was impriſoned in the *Tower*.

There were ſeveral occaſions at this time which required conſiderable Supplies of Mony, for beſides that of the *Palatinate*, there was great probability of a War with *France* upon this Occaſion; the *French* King, *Lewis* the 13. had borrowed of his Brother in Law, the King of *England*, a Man of War called the *Vauntguard*, and ſix other Merchant Ships in purſuance of a Deſign againſt *Italy*, but with this expreſs Condition, that they ſhould not be imployed againſt the *Proteſtants* at *Rochel*; there having been an Agreement lately made between them and their King by the Mediation of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors: But *Mounſieur Soubize*, who was for the Proteſtants, taking the Advantage of the *French* Armies going into *Italy*, ſuddenly broke that Agreement; for getting ſome ſmall Ships together, he ſurprized the Iſle of *Rhee*, and ſome Ships in the Harbour, at which the *French* King being offended, turns his whole Deſign from *Italy* to *Rochel*; and with the Seven *Engliſh* Ships under Admiral *Penninœton*, Twenty *Dutch* Ships and the *French* Navy, he furiouſly falls upon *Souloize*, forceth him from his Faſtneſs, and chaſeth him to the Iſle of *Oleron*: The King of *England* was much concerned at this Action of the *French* King, as a breach of his Royal Word, and demanded Satisfaction; which the *French* King deferring to give, the King Seized a Rich *French* Ship, and the *French* King Arreſted the Goods of the *Engliſh* Merchants in *France*, to the value of Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds; but at length all was Reconciled and Reſtored on both ſides.

Thus all ſeemed quiet at preſent, till the Inſolent deportment of the Queens Prieſts and Confeſſor made another Rupture; who Impoſed upon her to go barefoot, to Spain, to wait upon her Servants at their Dinners, nay to walk on Foot on a Rainy Morning, from *Somerſet-*



The Insurection of the Apprentices at Lambeth

The E: of Strafford beheaded on Towerhill.

Cheapside Cross pulled down in 1643.

ſet-*Houſe* to St. *James*'s, and from thence as far as *Tyburn* Gallows, to offer up her Prayers for the Souls of ſome *Jeſuits*, whom they ſtiled Martyrs, who were formerly Executed there; her Confeſſor himſelf Riding by her in a Coach. Theſe and ſeveral other Arrogancies, being juſtly charged upon the Queens *French* Domeſtick Servants, they were paid off, diſcharged, and ſent home: Upon which the *French* Arreſted the Ships of the *Engliſh* Wine Merchants at *Blay Caſtle*, which was ſo ill Reſented by his Majeſty of *Great Britain*; that he reſolved upon a Breach with *France*: But about the ſame time the *Engliſh* Fleet under the L. *Willoughby*, which were ſent to the Aid of the *Rochellers*, were ſo ſcattered by a Storm, that they could ſcarce get into ſafe Harbour.

The Aſſeſſment of the *Loan* was generally oppoſed, whereupon the People of the lower Rank were ordered to appear in the *Military Yard* near St. *Martins in the Fields* before the Lieutenant of the Tower, to be Liſted for Souldiers; it being thought fit, that thoſe who refuſed to aſſiſt with their Purſes in Common Defence, ſhould be forced to ſerve in their Perſons; others of better Quality, were bound to appear at the Council Table; ſeveral of whom were committed Priſoners to the *Fleet*, *Marſhalſea*, *Gatehouſe*, and other Priſons, and among them Sir *John Eliot*, who Petitioned his Majeſty and repeated many Preſidents, *That all manner of Aids and Taxes in former Kings Reigns were never levied but by the general Conſent of the Nobility and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament.* However he was committed Priſoner to the *Gatehouſe*, and upon the ſame Account Sir *Peter Hayman* was commanded to Serve his Majeſty in the *Palatinate*, which after he had ſettled his Eſtate he did accordingly.

Doctor *Sybthorp* and Dr. *Maynwaring*, two Eminent Preachers at Court, about this time preached up the Neceſſity and Duty of the Loan; one of them aſſerting, *That the Prince hath Power to Direct his Counſel, and make Laws, and that Subjects, if they cannot Exhibit Active Obedience, in caſe the thing commanded ſhould be againſt the Law of God, or Nature, or more impoſſible, yet nevertheleſs they*

ought to yield paſſive Obedience; and in all other Caſes they were bound to Active Obedience. The other Affirmed, *That the Kings Royal Command in Impoſing of Loans and Taxes, though without common conſent in Parliament, did Oblige the Subjects Conſcience upon pain of Eternal Damnation.* Which Poſition being entertain'd by the Court with Applauſe, the Sermon of Dr. *Sybthorp*, call'd *Apoſtolick Obedience*, was Licenſed and Approved of by Dr. *Laud* B. of *London*; and an expreſs Command was ſent from the King to Archbiſhop *Abbot* to Licenſe it, which he refuſed, whereupon having been under ſome diſfavour before, this Increaſed it, and he was ſuſpended from his Archiepiſcopal See, and a Commiſſion was granted to Five Biſhops to Execute his Office: After which the Biſhop Publiſhed a Narrative of the Cauſe and Manner of his Suſpenſion.

Five of thoſe Gentlemen who were Impriſoned about the Loan; had their *Habeas Corpus* granted, and were brought to their Tryal before Sir *Nicholas Hyde* Lord Chief Juſtice; where, after arguing the Caſe between Council on both ſides, the L. Chief Juſtice concluded, *That ſince they were Committed by the Kings Authority, the Court could not free them*; ſo that they were remanded to Priſon, till the Order came out for a General Releaſe.

The *Iriſh Papiſts*, in hope of ſome Remiſſion of the Penal Laws, offered to Furniſh the King at their own Charge with a ſtanding Army 5000 Foot and 500 Horſe, and a large Contribution for ſecuring the Narrow Seas, which was oppoſed in *England* by Sir *John Savil*, and in *Ireland* by the Lord Primate of *Armagh* and divers others, as tending to preſerve the *Papiſts* Intereſts, and ſinking the *Proteſtants*; upon which the L. Deputy moved the *Primate* to endeavour to prevail with the *Proteſtants* to ſupply the Kings Neceſſities; which he attempted to do in a very learned Speech, though not with the expected Succeſs.

In 1627. being the Third Year of His Majeſties Reign, the Duke of *Buckingham*, to clear his Reputation, as to the

the Charge of Negligence in his Admiralſhip, with much ado compleated his Naval Forces, conſiſting of Six Thouſand Horſe and Foot in Ten Ships Royal, and Ninety Merchant-Men; with which he ſet Sail from *Portſmouth*, *June* 27, and publiſhed a *Manifeſto* of the Kings Affection to the *Reformed* Churches in *France*, and his diſpleaſure againſt the laſt miſimploying of his Ships againſt the *Rochellers*. But by ſeveral Accidents this great Deſign miſcarried, with the Death of near Two Thouſand common Souldiers, Thirty Priſoners of Note, and Forty four Colours taken: But notwithſtanding this Expedition in the Iſle of *Rhee* miſcarried, yet at Sea there was ſomewhat better Succeſs; a great *French* Ship was taken upon the Coaſts of *Holland*, Laden with great Guns, Arms, and Ammunition of all ſorts, to a very conſiderable value; Sir *John Pennington* likewiſe took Thirty Four Rich *French* Merchant-men, homeward bound, which were all ſafely brought to *England*; the poor remains of the Army which came from the Iſle of *Rhee*, moſt of them *Iriſh* and *Scots*, and conſequently rude and boiſterous, were quartered in the Country Villages which was very troubleſome to the People.

At this time the *Exchequer* was very low, and ſeveral late Enterprizes having miſcarried, the *Rochellers* being alſo now more diſtreſſed than ever; the cauſe of theſe evils were gravely repreſented by Sir *Robert Cotton* to ſeveral Lords of the Council; whereupon it was reſolved on by the Council, that a Parliament ſhould be called, and Writs were preſently Iſſued out; A Commiſſion likewiſe paſſed under the Great Seal, for raiſing Monies through the Kingdom in Nature of an Exciſe; and the Lord Treaſurer was ordered to pay Thirty Thouſand Pound to *Philip Burmelack*, a *Dutch* Merchant, to be returned to Sir *William Balfour* and *John Dalbier* in the *Low Countreys*, for raiſing a Thouſand Horſe; which cauſed ſtrange jealouſies and ſuſpicions among the People, as if theſe *German* Horſe were deſigned to inforce the payment of the Exciſe. There was ſome diſcourſe about Levying *Ship-mony*, but it was declined at that time, becauſe of the Parliament approaching.

In the mean time a company of *Jesuits* were apprehended in an House at *Clerkenwell*, which was designed for a *Colledge* of that Order; where among other *Papers* a Letter was found, discovering their secret Designs they had laid for imbroiling Church and State.

Upon the 17th of *March* 1627, the Parliament Assembled, the Commons chusing Sir *John Finch* Speaker; the King in a Speech tells the two Houses, *That the greatness of the danger was such, as required a speedy Supply, and that therefore they might rest assured it was the principal cause of their Meeting; wherein he hoped they would shew themselves such true Patriots of the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and the just defence of their Friends and Allies, now in hazard by* Popish *Enemies, as not to deceive his Expectations, which were very great, though indeed somewhat nipt, by Remembrance of the Distractions of the last Meeting.* The *Lord Keeper* likewise inforc'd the Kings Speech, and earnestly pressed them, to consider of some speedy way for Supplying his Majesties Necessities.

Before the Parliament began any debate, a Letter came to them Directed, *To the Members of the House of Commons*, called *A Speech without Doors*; discovering the Greivances and Inconveniences of the State, from one who had been a Member of the former Parliament. The first thing taken into Consideration by the Commons, was the Grievances of the Kingdom, and the first thing Insisted on was the Case of those Gentlemen for refusing the *Loan*, and who notwithstanding their *Habeas Corpus*, were Remanded to Prison; and after a long Debate between several Members, who asserted the Illegality of the Loan, and also their Imprisonment for refusing it; the Lord Chief Justice *Hyde* and several other Judges were desired to declare themselves; who justified their own proceedings, alledging *That if they had granted them Bail upon* Habeas Corpus, *it would have reflected upon the King, as if he had unjustly Imprisoned them:* But in conclusion it was resolved upon the Question in the House of Commons *Nemine Contradicente:* 1. *That no Man ought to be restrained by the Command of the King or Privy Council, without*

out some Cause of the Commitment. 2. *That the Writ of* Habeas Corpus *ought to be granted upon Request to every Man that is restrained, though by the Command of the King, the Privy Council, or any other.* 3, *That if a Freeman be imprisoned by the Command of the King, the Privy Council or any other, and no Cause of such Commitment expressed, and the same be returned upon an* Habeas Corpus *granted for the said Party, then he ought to be delivered or Bailed.*

Then the Parliament proceeded to draw up a Petition against *Popish* Recusants, consisting of these particulars. 1. *That all Laws and Statutes against Jesuites and Popish Priests, be put in power and Execution.* 2. *That a strict course be taken for the Apprehending and discovering of them.* 3. *That all Popish Recusants be prohibited from coming to Court, or within Ten Miles of* London. 4. *That no place of Trust or Authority shall be committed to Popish Recusants*; with several other particulars to the same purpose; which Petition was presented from the Lords and Commons to the King by the Lord Keeper, who gave a full and satisfactory Answer to every Article; after which Five Subsidies were granted to the King, which gave so great satisfaction to his Majesty, that he sent them Word, *He would deny them nothing of their Liberties which any of his Predecessors had granted:* A Petition was then presented against Quartering of Souldiers in the Countries, to which the King promised an Answer in convenient time; whereupon the Commons fell upon the memorable *Petition of Right*, & after several of the Members had delivered their Opinions at large concerning some Clauses in it, the Lords agreed that without any Addition or Preface it should be presented to the King; the substance whereof was:

1. They do pray his most Excellent Majesty, *That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or such like Charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament, and that none be called to make Answer, or to take such Oath, or to give Attendance, or be confined, or otherwise be molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for Refusal thereof.* 2. *That no Freeman be taken and imprisoned or be disseised of his Freehold of Liberty, or his free Customs, or be*

outlawed, or exiled, but by the Lawful judgment of his Peers, or by the Laws of the Land. 3. *That your Majesty would be pleased to remove the Souldiers and Marriners now Billeted in several Counties, and that your People may not be so burdened for the time to come.* 4. *That the late Commissions for proceeding by Martial Law, may be revoked and annulled, and that hereafter no Commission of like Nature may Issue forth to any Person or Persons whatsoever, to be Executed, lest by colour of them, any of your Majesties Subjects be destroyed, or put to death contrary to Law, and the Franchises of the Law.*

All which we most humbly pray your most Excellent Majesty as their Rights and Liberties according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; And that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, That all Awards, Doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of your People, shall not be drawn hereafter into Consequence and Example.

* After this there came a Letter from the King to the House of Lords, wherein among other things, His Majesty declared it to be his Royal pleasure, which God willing he would ever continue and constantly maintain; *That neither he, nor his* Privy Counsil, *should or would hereafter, command to Prison, or otherwise restrain the Persons of any for not lending Money, nor for any Cause which in his Conscience did not concern the publick good; nor would he be drawn to pretend any cause, wherein his judgment was not fully satisfied.*

This, Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford) said, *Was a Letter of Grace, but that the People were not satisfied but by a Parliamentary way, That the debate would spend much time, That it was not directed to the House of Commons, and that the Petition it self would rectify all mistakes.* When the *Petition of Right* was presented to the King, the answer following was quickly returned; *The King willeth that Right be done according to the Law, and Customs of the Realm; and that the Statutes be put in due Execution, that his Subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or Oppressions, contrary to their just Rights and Liberties; to the Preservation whereof he holds himself in Conscience as well obliged, as to that of his Prerogative.*

This Answer being read in the House of Commons,

was

was not judged Satisfactory; and therefore upon their Humble Petition for a clear and ſatisfactory Anſwer to the *Petition of Right*, His Majeſty to ſhew how free and candid his Conceſſions were to his Subjects, ſent them this ſhort but full Anſwer; *Soit Droit Fait come il eſt deſire*, Let it be done according to your deſire. Which anſwer was received with the general Joy and Satisfaction of both Houſes; and the Citizens made Bonefires, and Rung Bells, and his Majeſty for further ſatisfaction was pleaſed to receive into Favour *Abbot*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Biſhop *Williams*, and ſeveral others: His Majeſty likewiſe ſuffered the Commiſſion of Loan and Exciſe to be cancelled in his preſence, ſo that all diſcontents of every ſide ſeemed to be baniſhed.

In 1628. the fourth year of his Majeſties Reign, the Parliament not being ſatisfied of their former diſappointment about the Duke of *Buckingham*, drew up another Remonſtrance againſt him, and likewiſe againſt Biſhop *Neal*, and Biſhop *Laud*, which they preſented to the King with the Bill of Subſidies; his Majeſty telling them, *That he expected not ſuch a Return for his favourable Anſwer to the* Petition of Right, *and as for the Grievances he would take time to conſider of them.*

An Information being likewiſe Exhibited againſt the Duke in the *Star-Chamber*, for divers Offences and Miſdemeanors, an Order was made in that Court, that all proceedings thereupon ſhould be taken off the File, by the Kings expreſs Will and Pleaſure: And becauſe it had been reported by a Member of Parliament, that the Duke ſhould ſay at his Table, *Piſh, it matters not what the Parliament doth, for without my leave and Authority, they ſhall not be able to touch the Hair of a Dog*: The Duke made Proteſtation in the Houſe of Lords, *That he never had thoſe words ſo much as in his Thoughts.* But the King being reſolved to hold up the Duke, ſent ſo briſk an Anſwer to their Remonſtrances, as provoked the Commons (who had ſoon forgot his Majeſties late Act of Grace) to queſtion his taking Tunnage and Poundage; which being of too valuable conſideration to be hazarded, his

Majesty obviated by Adjourning the Parliament to the 20th of *October*; there being several Acts passed by them, One *About the Lords Day*. Another *To restrain the sending any to be* Popishly *bred beyond the Seas*. Another *for Confirmation of the Subsidies granted by the Clergy, and for the grant of Five Entire Subsidies upon the Temporality* and divers more.

Much about this time Dr. *Lamb*, who was in great Favour with the Duke of *Buckingham* (and had been formerly twice Arraigned, once for *Necromancy*, and another time for a *Rape*) was killed by the furious Multitude in *Lothbury*, who hated him both for his own sake and the Dukes, he being called the Dukes Devil; and though he were guarded by four Constables and their Attendants, yet the Rabble struck him down, beat out one of his eyes, and left him half dead on the Ground, from whence he was carried to the *Poultrey Counter*, where he died, according to his own Prediction the year before; being pitied by few, and loved of none.

The Earl of *Denbigh* having a while since sailed with Fifty Ships to the relief of *Rochel*, was repelled with much loss; so that despairing of Success, he returned back to *Plymouth*; whereupon another Expedition was resolved on, with a more considerable Navy, and the Duke of *Buckingham* was designed Admiral, who going to *Portsmouth*, in order to hastning of business, one *John Felton* a Lieutenant, stabbed him to the heart with a Knife; which the Murtherer flying, left sticking in his Body, till the Duke himself dragg'd it out, and immediately after died: *Felton* was soon apprehended by the Servants, and laden with Irons, and being asked, what inclined him to commit so horrid an Action? He boldly answered, *He killed him for the cause of God and his Country:* He likewise fastned a Paper in the Crown of his Hat, which intimated, *That his only Motive to this Fact, was the late Remonstrance of the Commons against the Duke, and that he could not sacrifice his Life in a nobler Cause, than by delivering his Country from so great an Enemy.* Felton was afterwards Condemned and Hanged at *Tyburn*, and his Body

Body hanged upon a Gibbet at *Portsmouth*.

There was observation made of divers Passages presaging the Dukes Death, as that his Picture fell down in the high Commission Chamber at *Lambeth*. That the Lady *Davis*, reputed a Propheteſs, had foretold in *June*, that the Dukes fatal time would not come till *August*; and lastly that Mr. *Towerſon* of the *Custom-house* was charged by a Phantasm or Ghost, resembling the Dukes Father, to tell him, *That if he changed not his courses, he should shortly become a great Fairing to the City of* London; which was afterwards judg'd to be accompliſhed by his death, which happened the day before the Fair, that is, *August* 23, 1628.

However the Fleet ſetSail under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*, and came to the Bar of *Rochel* Haven, when there was a wonderful *Barricado* contrived by Cardinal *Richlieu*, of Fourteen Hundred Yards, croſs the Channel; however the Earl adventured in, paſſing the Forts and Outworks, but the Wind changing, drove the Ships upon each other; which unhappy Accident made the *Rochellers* deſpair of Relief, and occaſioned the preſent ſurrender of the Town; after which the Earl of *Lindſey* brought the Fleet ſafe home again.

The Parliament was to have met in *October*, but by reaſon of ſome ill news during this Expedition, they were again Adjourned to *January* 20th; in which time the Merchants refuſing to pay Cuſtom, had their goods ſeized; Complaint whereof being made to the Parliament, the King ſummons the two Houſes to the Banquetting Houſe at *Whitehall*, and requires them to paſs the promiſed Bill of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, for ending all differences, ſince it was too precious a Jewel of the Crown to be ſo lightly forgone.

But the Commons being forward enough to take all occaſions to put off the Kings Requeſts, Anſwered, *That Gods Cauſe was to be preferr'd before the Kings, and they would therefore in the firſt place conſult concerning Religion*; and thereupon appointed one Committee for *Religion*, and another for *Civil Matters*; in the laſt whereof there was a com-

a complaint that the *Petition of Right*, had been Printed with the Kings first Answer only, and not with the last which was judged Satisfactory: Another complaint was likewise made about the Customs, and Mr. *Rolls* a Member of the House affirmed, That it was reported some of the Officers of the Custom-house should say, *Though all the Parliament were in you, we would take your Goods*; Mr. *Richard Chambers* was likewise imprisoned for saying at the Council Table, *That such great Customs and Impositions were required of the Merchants in* England, *as were in no other Place, and that they were more screwed up than under the* Turk After which a Form of Submission being sent him from the *Star-chamber* to subscribe his name thereto, he instead of owning it as a fault underwrit these words, *all the aboveſaid Contents I* Richard Chambers *do utterly abhor and detest, as most unjust and false: and never to death will acknowledge any part thereof*; and quoted divers Scriptures against Oppression and Injustice.

As to the Printing the *Petition of Right*, the Printer was questioned, and for the other, the *Farmers* of the Customs were challenged to Answer it, but the King excused them, as Acting by his Command; yet this not being clear to the Parliament, they would have proceeded against them as Delinquents; whereupon the King sent them Word, *That in honour he could not, nor would give way thereto*: Which so incensed the Parliament, that they Adjourned themselves for some days, and then meeting again, the King Adjourned them further till *March* 2. upon which Sir *John Eliot* stood up and accused the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, as an Enemy to the *English* Trade, and designing to transfer it to Forreigners; which Speech caused a farther Adjournment to *March* 10. The Commons inraged hereat, blamed their *Speaker* for admitting the Message, and ordered Sir *John Eliot* to read their Remonstrance (the *Speaker* and Clerk refusing to do it) which was to this purpose;

That the House had considered of the Bill for Tunnage *and* Poundage, *but being overprest with other business, and that of it self so perplext, as would require much leisure to discharge, could*

could not at that time finish it; this present Session moving hastily to an end; and lest his Majesty should hereafter, as he had done heretofore, encline to Evil Spirits, or to be abused to believe, that he might justly receive the Subsidies of Tunnage *and* Poundage, *which they humbly declare to be against the Fundamental Law of the Nation, and contrary to the Kings late Answer to the* Petition of Right; *therefore they crave that his Majesty would for the future forbear such Taxes, and not take it ill, if his Subjects refuse what is demanded by Arbitrary and unwarrantable Power.*

A Report was likewise made from the Committee of Pardons by *Oliver Cromwell*, (a fatal name afterward) that Dr. *Neal* Bishop of *Winchester*, was chiefly Instrumental, in procuring the Kings hand to the Pardons of Dr. *Sybthorp*, Dr. *Maynwaring*, Mr. *Cousens*, and Mr. *Montague*, and that he had likewise preferr'd Dr. *Maynwaring* to a rich Living, though censured by the former Parliament, and disabled from holding any Ecclesiastical Dignity; and also that he was a Countenancer not only of *Arminianism*, but flat *Popery*.

The Commons having prepared their Remonstrance about the Bill of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, they required their Speaker to put it to the Vote, whether it should be presented to the King, or not; but the Speaker refused it, and according to the Kings Order would have gone away; but Mr. *Hollis* would not suffer him to stir till himself had read the Protestation of the House, consisting of 3 Heads.

1. *Whoever shall bring in any Innovation of Religion, or by favour seek to introduce* Popery, *or Arminianism, or other Opinions, disagreeing from the True and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Commonwealth.* 2. *Whosoever shall Counsel or Advise, the taking, or levying the Subsidies of* Tunnage *and* Poundage; *not being granted by* Parliament, *or shall be an Actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a* Capital *Enemy to the Common-wealth.* 3. *If any man shall yield voluntarily, or pay the same; not being granted by* Parliament *he shall be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of* England, *and an Enemy to the Commonwealth.*

These

These Articles were entertained with the general Approbation of the Members, but were much disliked by the King, who immediately sent for the *Serjeant of the Mace* out of the House of Commons, but *Sir Miles Hobart* took the Key from him, and locking the door would not suffer him to go forth, at which the King being very much offended, he sends the Usher of the Black Rod to dissolve them, who was not admitted in, whereupon the King, with his Guard of *Pensioners*, were resolved to force their Entrance which the *Commons* having notice of, they suddenly went all out of the House; and this was the end of this Parliament.

After their Dissolution, the King publisheth a Declaration of the Cause thereof; and then question'd Eleven of the Refractory Members at the Council Table, who were all committed to divers Prisons. About the same time the Marquis of *Huntley*, Sheriff of the greatest part of *Scotland*, neglecting the Order of the *Council* for seizing some *Priests* and *Jesuites*, who publickly said *Mass* and committed other Insolences at *Aberdeen*, with several other Lords, who joyned with him, and refused to appear upon *Summons*, and had likewise given notice to the Priests and Jesuits to escape, were proclaimed Rebels & Traitors to the K. & Kingdom; upon which they fled into *Eng.* The *French* K. having had much loss by the War with *Eng.* did now therefore propose and conclude a peace with the King consisting of several Articles.

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diſperſed abroad, whereof one againſt Biſhop *Laud* was found in the *Dean* of St. *Pauls* Yard to his Effect. Laud *look to thy ſelf, be aſſured thy life is ſought; as thou art the Fountain of Wickedneſs, repent of thy Monſtrous ſin before thou be taken out of the World; and aſſure thy ſelf,* Neither God, nor the World, can endure *ſuch a vile Counſellor, or Whiſperer.* Another very bitter Libel was ſcattered againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*: On the other ſide ſome conſidering the unſucceſsfulneſs of this and the two former Parliaments, adviſed never for the future to call any more Parliaments; and to that end the forementioned *Book of Projects* was publiſhed, and addreſt to the King, propoſing ſome methods to prevent the *Impertinency* of Parliaments (as he called them) for time to come, by the Example of *Lewis* 11th. of *France*; who pretending that the *Commons* or Third Eſtate, did encroach too much upon the Nobility and Clergy, diſſolved it; and never after ſuffered the People freely to Elect their Repreſentatives: but nominated certain Eminent Perſons himſelf inſtead thereof, which is called, L' *Aſſembly des Notabiles*, or the Aſſembly of Chief, or Principal Men; and the Methods propoſed to avoid Parliaments were:

1. *To have a Fortreſs in every conſiderable Town.* 2 *To cauſe high-ways to be made through all ſuch Towns.* 3. *To make none of the Inhabitants Governors of thoſe Fortreſſes.* 4. *To let none paſs through thoſe Towns without a Ticket.* 5. *To have the Names of all Lodgers taken by Inn-keepers.* 6. *To impoſe a general Oath upon the Subjects, not to oppoſe any of theſe* Contrivances. And to increaſe the Kings Revenue, the Advice was, 1. *To demand the Tenth part of every Mans Eſtate.* 2. *To buy in all Leaſes upon the Crown Lands.* 3. *To take the benefit of Salt into his own hands.* 4. *To demand a Rate for Sealing the Weights every year.* 5. *To lay a Tax upon Wools.* 6. *Upon every Lawyers Fee.* 7. *Upon Inns and Victualling Houſes for a Licenſe.* 8. *Upon all Cattel, Fleſh, and Horſes ſold in the Market.* 9. *Upon all Lands Alienated.* 10. *To ſet a Rate upon all Offices in his Majeſties Grant.* 11. *To Reduce his Majeſties Houſhold to board wages* 12. *To lay a Tax upon White Meats on faſting days.* 13. *To lay an Impoſition upon the Papiſts*

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Papists Lands. 14. *To advance some Hundreds of Persons to Honours.* 15 *To prohibit excess in Apparel, which would save the Gentry more Money, than what they were Taxed would amount to.*

In the year 1629. one *Bellingham* was Arrested in *Fleet-street*, and several Gentlemen of the *Temple* attempting his Rescue, divers of them were wounded, and some imprisoned; which so increased the Tumult, that the *Templars* made a Barricado at St. *Dunstans* Church, being about Six hundred in Number, and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs coming against them with a Company of the Train'd Bands, they boldly resisted them, killing five of them, and wounding near a hundred; but in the end, being dispersed, two of them, that is, Captain *Stamford* and Captain *Ahurst* were hanged though great Intercession was made to the King, for *Stamfords* Life; who answered, *That since he had been formerly Pardoned for a Murther, and had committed another, a Course ought to be taken to prevent a Third.*

Upon *May* 29. 1630. the Queen was delivered of a Son at *St. James's* who was Christened *Charles*; and Preserved by Providence, to Succeed his Father in these Three Kingdoms, as his Rightful Inheritance, after the Miseries of a long and tedious Exile from his Native Country, unto which he was at length happily Restored, with the general Consent and Acclamation of the whole Kingdom. The King of *France*, and the Prince Elector *Palatine*, represented by the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Marquiss *Hamilton*, were his Godfathers, and the *Queen Mother* of *France*, represented by the Dutchess of *Richmond*, his Godmother, It was observed that at his Nativity a Star was seen at Noon-day, which might portend some extraordinary Passages of this Princes Life.

About this time Dr. *Leighton* was sentenced in the *Star-Chamber*, to have his Body Whipt, his Fore-head Stigmatized, his Ears Cropt, his Nose Slit; for publishing a Book called *Sions Plea*: wherein he exhorted the late Parliament to smite the Bishops under the Fifth Rib; and called the Queen the Daughter of *Heth* a *Canaanite* and

and Idolatreſs: which Sentence was accordingly inflicted on him.

In *Ireland* the Papiſts preſumed on *St. Stephens* day to ſay Maſs in *Dublin*, while the Lords Chief Juſtices were at Church; who having notice thereof, ordered the Prieſts Crucifixes, and Veſtments, to be ſeized; and Eight *Popiſh* Aldermen were likewiſe Impriſoned for not Aſſiſting the Mayor; but ſome *Papiſts* making a Tumult, reſcued the *Prieſts*, whom the Guards again forced to deliver back. Upon Information of this Riot and Inſolency, Fifteen Houſes were by ſpecial Order from the Council ſeized upon for his Majeſties uſe; and the *Prieſts* and Friers ſo diſturbed, that two of them hanged themſelves. Neither did the Papiſts agree together, for there were great Conteſts in *England* between the *Jeſuits* and Secular *Prieſts*.

The Earl of *Eſſex* had many years before married the Lady *Howard*, who complaining of his Inſufficiency for Marriage Duties, the Cauſe was brought to a Trial; and it being made appear by a Jury of Midwives and the Earls own Confeſſion, *That he never could, and believed he never ſhould, carnally know her*: Thereupon Sentence of Divorce between him and his Lady was pronounced by the Biſhops: However the Earl was reſolved to try his Fortune once more, and therefore upon his return out of the *Low Countries*, where he had been for ſome time a Souldier, he now Married a Daughter of Sir *William Paulet* of *Wiltſhire*; but a while after ſhe objecting the ſame cauſe of complaint, deſired likewiſe to be Divorced from him; which the Earl eaſily conſented to, and it was done accordingly.

In the year 1631. and the 7th. of his Majeſties Reign, *Mervin* Lord *Audly*, and Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, was Tryed by his Peers upon the Perition of his own Son and Heir, for *Rape and Sodomy*; many unnatural and beaſtly Actions being proved againſt him: whereupon he received Sentence to be Hanged, but had the Favour to be Beheaded at *Tower-hill*. This Earl was born of a very honourable Family, and educated in the *Proteſtant* Religion, but turned Papiſt to have the more liberty to commit wickedneſs:

edneſs: in which he grew to ſo a great a height, that he impudently declared in the preſence of ſome Lords, *As others had their ſeveral Delights; ſome in one thing, ſome in another; ſo his whole Delight was in damning Souls, by enticing Men to ſuch Acts as might ſurely effect it.*

About this time *Sir Giles Allington* was Convented for Marrying his own Niece, and was fined Twelve thouſand Pound to the King, and to give Twenty thouſand Pound Bond never to cohabit, or come in private with his Niece again; and both of them to do Penance at St. *Pauls Croſs*, or St. *Maries* in *Cambridge* which they accordingly did.

The *Proteſtants* were every much diſcontented in *Ireland*, that the *Papiſts* were diſcharged from paying the State Penalty of Twelve Pence a Sunday for not going to Church; whereby their Number was wonderfully increaſed. Whereupon the King recalled the Lords Juſtices, who then governed that Kingdom, and ſent Viſcount *Wentworth* (afterward Earl of *Strafford*) thither as Lord Deputy, as judging that theſe diſtempers would be better compoſed under a ſingle Government.

In the year 1633. and the 9th of his Majeſties Reign, the King made a Journey into *Scotland*, attended with ſeveral of the Nobility and Perſons of Quality; and *June* 18. was ſolemnly Crowned King at *Edenborough*; which Solemnity being finiſhed, the King calls a Parliament, and paſſeth an Act for Ratification of the old Acts; though ſome affirmed, That the Confirmation of Epiſcopacy was intended thereby, and therefore (though in vain) oppoſed it; upon which one of thoſe Perſons became a while after principal Man among the Covenanters; In this *Scottiſh* Parliament, that Nation ſhewed then ſome ſigns of diſaffection to the King, by Reaſon of ſeveral Acts which then paſſed; and the generality of the People (who without doubt were influenced by the greater Malecontents) would not ſuffer the Biſhop of *Dumblain*, Dean of the Kings Private Chappel there, to perform Prayers twice a day after the *Engliſh* manner; neither durſt they receive the Communion

on

on their knees, nor wear a Surplice upon *Sundays* & *Holydays*.

Not long before his Majesty went to *Scotland*, being desirous if possible to have prevented that Trouble, the King writ to a *Scottish* Lord who was intrusted with that Crown, to bring it into *England*, that he might be Crowned here; but the Lord returned Answer, *That he durst not be so false to his Trust, but if his Majesty would be pleased to accept thereof in* Scotland, *he should find those his People ready to yield him the highest Honour; but if he should long defer that Duty, they might perhaps be inclined to make choice of another King.* A very strange and unusual Answer from a Subject to a Prince.

October 13. 1633. The Queen was delivered of her Second Son, who was Baptized *James*, and Designed Duke of *York*; and about that time died *George Abbot* L. Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Laud* Bishop of *London* was Elected into his place.

In the Year 1634. the *English* Coasts were very much Infested by Pyrates, and the Fishing Trade almost ingrossed by the *Hollanders*, and his Majesty having occasion for Money to Regain his Absolute Dominion over the *British* Seas, the Design of *Ship-money* was first set on foot; and Attorney General *Noy* being consulted about it, he out of some old Records finds an ancient President of Raising a Tax upon the Nation, by the Authority of the King alone, for setting out a Navy in case of danger; which was thereupon accordingly put in Execution, and by this Tax the King raised by Writ above Twenty Thousand Pound a Month, though not without great discontent both among the Clergy and *Laiety*.

The Discontents in *Scotland* began to increase, and a Book was published charging the King with indirect Proceedings in the last Parliament, and a tendancy to the *Romish* Belief, and to blow up these *Scotch* Sparks to a Flame, Cardinal *Richlieu* sent over his Chaplain and another Gentleman, to heighten their Discontents: The Author of that Book was seized, and found to be abetted by the Lord *Balmerino*, the Treacherous Son of a perfidious Father; who was thereupon Arraigned by his Peers,

Peers, and ſentenced to Death, but Pardoned by the King.

At this time *Gregory Panzani* a *Prieſt*, was ſent over by the Pope with a Commiſſion of *Oyer and Terminer* to decide the difference between the *Jeſuites* and *Secular* Prieſts, and Inſinuating himſelf into the Favour of the Lord *Cottington*, and Secretary *Windebank*, he endeavours to diſcover how far the King might be perſuaded about giving Toleration to the *Popiſh* Religion; as to allow them a *Popiſh* Biſhop to reſide here, but nominated and limited by the King; and that the Pope might ſend a *Nuncio* to the Queen; but having made ſome agreement between the Jeſuites and Prieſts, *Panzani* returned to *Rome*, and left the further tranſacting of Buſineſs to Seignior *Con*, who ſtaid in his Room.

In the year 1635. A Noble Fleet was fitted out, by the Supply of *Ship-money*, conſiſting of Forty Sail, under the Earl of *Lindſey*, to ſcour the Seas from Pirates; at which time the *French* and *Hollanders* had confederated againſt the *Spaniard* in *Flanders* both by Land and Sea; but the *Engliſh* Fleet removed the *Hollanders* from before *Dunkirk*, and the common People inraged by the *French* inſolencies at Land, roſe up againſt them, and Aſſiſted the *Spaniard* to expel them the Countrey.

One *Robert* Par of *Shropſhire*, a Man almoſt an Hundred and threeſcore years old, was this year brought to *London* by the Earl of *Arundel* as a Rarity or Miracle, where he died ſoon after; though it is very probable he might have lived much longer, if he had continued at home, for his removal from his own Air, change of Diet, and the tediouſneſs of ſo long a Journey, may be ſuppoſed to have haſtned his end.

December 28, 1635. The Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings Second Daughter was born, and to Congratulate the Queens happy delivery, the *Hollander* ſent an Ambaſſador with a preſent of an extraordinary value, that is, a Maſſy piece of Ambergreece, Two large and almoſt Tranſparent *China* Diſhes, a Clock of moſt excellent Workmanſhip, which was made by *Rodulphus* Emperour of *Germany*; and likewiſe ſeveral curious pieces of Painting.

Dr.

Dr. *William Juxton*, Biſhop of *London*, about this time was made Lord Treaſure in the place of the L. *Weſton* Earl of *Portland*, deceaſed; And now great differences aroſe about Church matters, chiefly occaſioned by Arch-Biſhop *Lands* ſtrict and zealous Enjoyning of Ceremonies, as placing the Communion Table at the Eaſt end of the Church, upon an Aſcent with Rails, Altar faſhion; with many other things not formerly ſtrictly inſiſted on, and now vehemently oppoſed by thoſe who were uſually called *Puritans* and *Nonconformiſts*, which cauſed them to be charged with Faction; yet ſome of the *Epiſcopal* Party Aſſerted, That the Communion Table ought to ſtand in the middle of the Quire according to the Primitive Example; and a Book ſuppoſed to be written by Dr. *Williams* B. of *Lincoln*, was Publiſhed to this purpoſe.

His Majeſty conſidering the good Succeſs of his former Fleet, fits out another in the year 1636. under the command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who going Northwards ſcoured the Seas of the *Holland* Buſſes, and reduced them to deſire leave of his Majeſty to Fiſh there; which the King upon divers Conſiderations granted them.

Several Gentlemen of Quality had refuſed to pay the Impoſition of Ship-money, and among the reſt Mr. *Hamden* of *Buckinghamſhire*, upon which his Majeſty refers the whole buſineſs to his Twelve Judges in *Michaelmas* Term 1636. Ten of whom that is, *Brampton*, *Finch*, *Davenport*, *Denham*, *Jones*, *Trever*, *Vernon*, *Berkly*, *Crawly*, *Veſton*, gave their Judgments againſt *Hamden* and his Aſſociates, and ſubſcribed their Names to be Inrolled in all the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall*; but *Hutton* and *Crook* refuſed it: This year *March* the 17. the Kings Third Daughter, the Princeſs *Ann*, was born.

In the Thirteenth year of his Majeſties Reign, 1637. Dr. *Baſtwick*, Mr. *Pryn*, and Mr. *Burton* received a ſevere Cenſure for writing againſt Biſhops and their Government; they being all three Sentenced to pay Five Thouſand pounds Fine to the King, to loſe their Ears in the Pillory

Pillory, and to be Impriſoned, which laſt two they accordingly ſuffered.

Biſhop *Williams* of *Lincoln* having the great Seal taken from him in the firſt year of his Majeſties Reign, he ſo deeply reſented it, that ever after he ſtudied Revenge; and a Bill being preferr'd againſt him in the *Star-Chamber* for ſome diſhonourable Speeches of the King, he endeavoured by ſome indirect means to clear his Innocence, and was therefore this year ſentenced Ten thouſand Pounds Fine to the King, Impriſonment in the *Tower* during Pleaſure, to be ſuſpended *ab Officiis, & Beneficiis* from his Biſhoprick, and the Profits thereof, and to be referred to the *High Commiſſion* Court as to what concerned them.

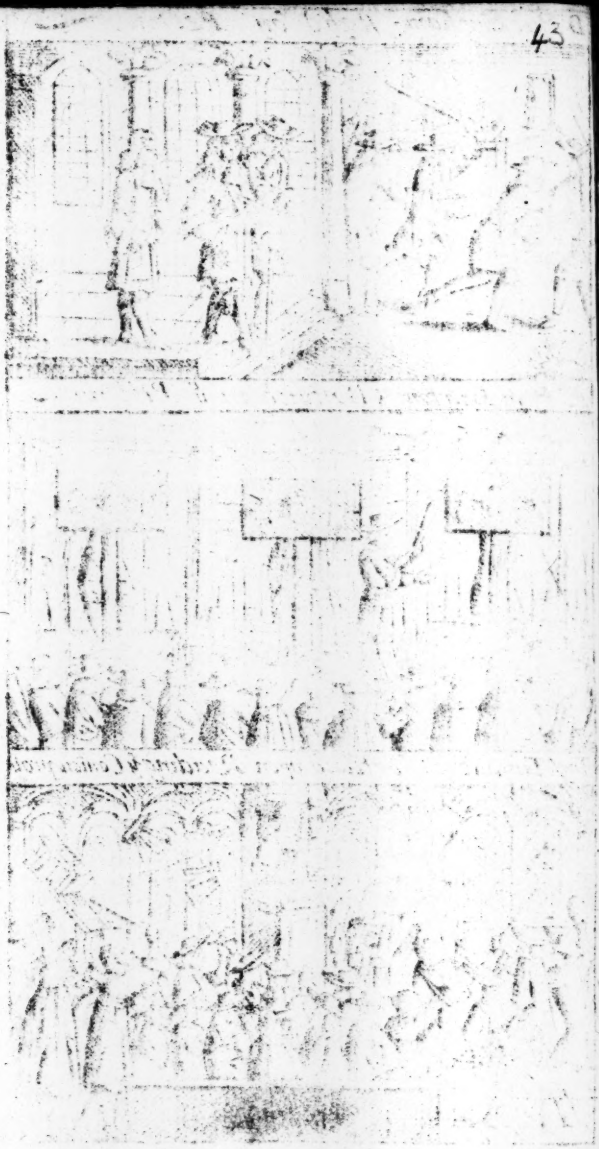
His Majeſty deſiring an Uniformity in Religion in *England* and *Scotland* (a thing before deſigned by King *James*) in purſuance thereof enjoyned the *Scots* the uſe of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, the Surplice, and other Habiliments, and began firſt at his own Chappel; and in this year 1637, Proclamation was made that the ſame Order ſhould be obſerved in all Churches, wherewith the Biſhops were contented, but not the Kirk, nor the People; who were ſo inraged thereat, that when the Dean of *Edenbourgh* began to Read the Common Prayer in St. *Giles* Church with his Surplice on *July* 13. the Council, Biſhops, Lords, and Magiſtrates being preſent: the Women, and then the ordinary ſort of men, made ſuch a diſturbance, and noiſe with Curſing, Clapping their hands and ſo great Rudeneſs, that nothing could be heard, but their Clamours; upon which the Biſhop of *Edenbourgh* who was to preach that day, ſtept up into the *Pulpit* to reprove them; which increaſing their Fury, they aſſault him with ſuch a ſhower of Stones, Seats, Stools Cudgels, and whatever elſe was near; that his life was much endangered thereby, and the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews* Lord Chancellor, interpoſing, was like to have been as rudely handled, had not the Provoſt, Bayliffs and others with much trouble turned theſe Rioters out of the Church, the Dean then proceeding to read the

Servi

D: Buckingham stabd by Felton

M Pryn Burton & Bastwich in ye Pillory

The Tumult in Scotland upon Reading ye Comon prof



Service Book, though not without great noiſe from the Multtude about the Church. The like Diſturbance happened in other places, but in the Afternoon the *Book* was again read without much trouble, after which ſome of the Diſturbers were ſeized and puniſhed, but with no great Severity; and the Miniſters were promiſed Protection and Maintenance in Reading it; ſo that all at preſent ſeemed calm and quiet, till after Harveſt; at which time ſuch a confluence of People came to *Edenbourgh*, as gave juſt cauſe to the Council to fear an Inſurrection; to prevent which they Iſſued out ſeveral Proclamations, *That no Church matters ſhould be reſolved on but that all perſons depart home, unleſs they can ſhew ſome cauſe to the Council, upon pain of Rebellion.*

Yet this was ſo little regarded by the People, that the B. of *Galloway* going the next day to the *Council* was purſued and aſſaulted by them even to the *Council Chamber*; and being with difficulty got in, the Houſe was preſently encompaſſed, and his Perſon peremptorily demanded; upon which thoſe within required Aid of the Provoſt and Council of *Edenbourgh*; but their Condition was as bad, being likewiſe beſet in their Town-houſe by the People, who would not let them go out till they had ſubſcribed, 1. *To joyn in Oppoſition to the Service Book, and in Petitioning to that purpoſe.* 2. *To reſtore two or three of their ſilenced Miniſters.* Which being related to the Councll, the Lord *Traquair* and another went in Perſon to the Town-Houſe, where they found the Tumult ſomewhat quieted by thoſe Conceſſions, but in coming back, they were furiouſly aſſaulted in the *Graſs-ſtreet*, and the L. *Traquair* was trodden under foot, his Hat, Cloak, and white Wand, was taken away and himſelf halled to the Council Houſe. The Lords whereof weighing their own danger, ſent ſecretly to ſome of thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen who diſliked the *Service Book*, and were then aſſembled in the common cauſe againſt it; by whom they were ſafely guarded through the multitude, to their ſeveral Houſes.

And now judging themſelves ſecure, they make Proclamation *for breaking up all Conventions and keeping the*

Peace, which had the contrary effect. Two Petitions being presented to them: One from the common sort of Men, Women and Children, the other in the Name of the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Ministry, against the Service Book and Canons, these Petitions were sent to the King, who being offended therewith, adjourned the Term to *Sterling*, & by Proclamation forbad upon extreamest penalty, such Tumultuous Meetings: Against which Proclamation the Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lindsey*, and divers others, made Protestation; and in pursuance thereof they set up Four Tables or Committees. 1. Of the Nobility. 2. Of the Gentry. 3. Of the Barons. 4. Of the Ministry; to prepare Matters for the *General Council*, consisting of several Commissioners taken out of the other.

The next year 1638. the *Scots* entred into a *Solemn League and Covenant* as they termed it, which being a thing of Note, I thought it not Impertinent to set down at large (saith the Continuator of Sir *Richard Bakers* Chronicle, Licensed by Authority in 1665.) since it is known to have been a matter of no less Remark and Consideration than whatever this Age hath produced extraordinary; It was designed by the *Scots* in opposition to the *English* Liturgy and *Service Book*, recommended to them by A. B. *Laud*, and the *English* Prelacy; and ordered to be taken throughout all that Nation, but when the Parliament of *England* desired the Assistance of that Kingdom (as you will find hereafter) a Confederacy was then entred into between both Nations; one of the conditions whereof was, *That the People as well of* England *and* Ireland, *as* Scotland, *should take this solemn League and Covenant*; But though it was soon laid aside in this Nation as a thing out of date, by those who pretended higher dispensations, yet for the time it was received by us from our Brethren of *Scotland* with high veneration and esteem; but such is the mutability of Affairs below, that those things which at one time have been held most sacred and inviolable, have at another time been reduced to the lowest ebb of Ignominy and Contempt; and such was the fate of this once so venerable.

rable Oath, which by the ſame *Parliamentary* Authority by which it was at firſt voted up into the ſtricteſt Obſervance, and as it were adoration, came at length to be ſentenced and condemned after the manner of moſt execrable Malefactors; the form of this Covenant was as followeth;

We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all ſorts, in the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by the providence of God living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the honour and happineſs of the Kings Majeſty and his Poſterity, and the true publick liberty, ſafety, and peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every ones private condition is concluded: And calling to mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conſpiracies, Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of God, againſt the true Religion and Profeſſors thereof in all places, eſpecially in theſe Three Kingdoms, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion; and how much their rage, power, and preſumption, are of late, & at this time increaſed & exerciſed; whereof, the deplorable eſtate of the Church & Kingdom of *Ireland*, the diſtreſſed eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of *Engl.* and the dangerous ſtate of the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, are preſent and publick Teſtimonies; We have now at laſt (after other means of Supplication, Remonſtrance, Proteſtations, and Sufferings) for the preſervation of our ſelves and Religion from utter ruine and deſtruction, according to the commendable practice of theſe Kingdoms in former times, and the example of Gods people in other Nations, after mature deliberation, reſolved and determined to enter into a mutual SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, wherein we all ſubſcribe; and each one of us for our ſelf, with our hands liſted up to the moſt high God, do ſwear:

1. *That we will ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our ſeveral places and callings,*

the preſervation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, *in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government againſt our common Enemies; the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government, according to the Word of God, and the examples of the beſt Reformed Churches: And ſhall endeavour to bring the* Churches *of God in the Three Kingdoms, to the neareſt conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, Form of* Church-Government, *Directory for Worſhip, and* Catechizing; *that we, and our poſterity after us, may as Brethren live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt of us.* 2. *That we ſhall in like manner, without reſpect of perſons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is,* Church-Government *by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſm, Prophaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine, and to the power of Godlineſs; leſt we partake of other mens ſins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the Three Kingdoms.* 3. *We ſhall with the ſame ſincerity, reality, and conſtancy, in our ſeveral vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates and Lives mutually to preſerve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the Kings Majeſties perſon and Authority, in the preſervation and the defence of the True Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms; that the world may bear witneſs with our Conſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh his Majeſties juſt power and greatneſs.* 4. *We ſhall alſo with all faithfulneſs endeavour the diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments, by hindring the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction or Parties amongſt the People, contrary to this* LEAGUE AND COVENANT; *that they may be brought to publick Tryal, and receive condign puniſhment, as the degree of their offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the Supream Judi-*

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tature of both Kingdoms reſpectively, or others having power from them for that effect, ſhall judge convenient. 5. *And whereas the happineſs of a bleſſed Peace betwixt theſe Kingdoms, denyed in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and ſetled by both Parliaments; we ſhall each one of us, according to our place and intereſt, endeavour that they may remain conjoyned in a firm Peace and Union to all poſterity, and that Juſtice may be done upon the wilful oppoſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the precedent Article.* 6. *We ſhall alſo, according to our places and callings, in this common cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this* LEAGUE AND COVENANT, *in the maintaining and purſuing thereof; and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves, directly, or indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſwaſion, or Terrour, to be divided and withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our ſelves to a deteſtable indifferency or Neutrality in this Cauſe, which ſo much concerns the glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and the honour of the King; but ſhall all the days of our lives, zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein, againſt all oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our power, againſt all lets and impediments whatever; and what we are not able our ſelves to ſuppreſs or overcome, we ſhall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we ſhall do as in the ſight of God.*

And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many ſins and provocations againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent diſtreſſes and danger, the fruits thereof; we profeſs and declare before God and the World, our unfeigned deſire to be humbled for our own ſins, and the ſins of theſe Kingdoms; eſpecially, that we have not as we ought, valued the ineſtimable benefit of the Goſpel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Chriſt in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our Lives, which are the cauſes of other ſins and transgreſſions, ſo much abounding amongſt

us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, for our selves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real Reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace. And this COVENANT we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all Hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and incouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under, or in danger of the yoak of Antichristian Tyranny, to joyn in the same or like Association and Covenant, to the glory of God, and the enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity, of Christian Kingdoms and Common-wealths.

This Covenant the *Scots* were resolved to maintain and to that purpose they sent for General *Lesly* and other Officers from beyond Sea, providing themselves likewise with Arms and Ammunition; whilst D. *Hamilton*, who was appointed to allay these heats and Distempers, seemed secretly to foment them, by spending a great deal of time in Declarations, Proclamations, Messages and Letters; and afterwards makes such Propositions to the *Confederates* about calling a *General Assembly*, as were very distastful to the *Covenanters* and increased their Fury: Whereupon *Hamilton* obtained of the King the Sole and Unlimited Power of Managing that Affair, and then acquainted them with a Declaration which he had procured of the King; *That he did discharge the Service Book, Book of Canons, and high Commission, and likewise did annul and rescind all Acts for establishing them, and did discharge the urging the Practice of the Five Articles of* Perth: *and that all Persons whomsoever shall be liable to the Censure of Parliament,*

liament, General Assembly, or any other Judicatories; according to the nature of the Offence; That the Ancient Confession of Faith and Band annexed, shall be subscribed and received as in K. James's *time*: That a *General Assembly* be holden at *Glascow, Nov.* 21. 1638. and a *Parliament* at *Edenbourgh, May* 15. 1639. All former Offences to be pardoned, and a *General Fast* appointed.

This Declaration being published, the Marques and Council subscribed the *Covenanters Confession of Faith*, &c. yet still some matter remained for a *Protestation*, which was read by one *Johnson*; wherein the People were exhorted to consider with whom they had to deal: and exceptions were made against Bishops, and their Voting in the *Assembly*: After this they Elect Commissioners for the *Assembly*, whom they moved to cite the Arch-bishops and Bishops to appear there, as Guilty Persons; which being refused, they themselves present a Bill of Complaint against them to the Presbytery at *Edenbourgh*, who accordingly warned them to appear at the next *General Assembly*: At their Meeting the Bishops sent in a Protestation against their *Assembly*, which the Covenanters would not vouchsafe to read; but presumed to forbid Six Lords of the Privy Council to sit in their *Assembly*, though nominated by the King. His Majesty having notice of their proceedings, as to the Bishops, and other matters, ordered their *Assembly* to be dissolved, which was done accordingly *Nov.* 21. 1638; and the Covenanters immediately according to their usual method, Issued out a *Protestation* against it, and likewise declared 6 former Meetings (which were opposite to their ways) to be void and of none Effect; and soon after they abolished *Episcopacy* and then prepared for a War, as being sensible that the King would maintain the Rights of the Bishops, and would likewise strictly call them to Account for their late Transactions.

About this time a Letter was sent by the *Scots* to the King of *France*, to implore his Assistance, Signed by several of the Nobility, The King of *England* prepares an Army for *Scotland*, with which In the year 1639. he

marcheth in Perſon into the North; but while he ſtayed at *York* ſome of the *Scots* Nobility tampered with the *Engliſh*, telling them that the ruin of the *Scots* would enable the King to be more ſevere toward his *Engliſh* Subjects; by which Intelligence and Correſpondence it was evident that the *Engliſh* had no mind to Fight, though their Army was much ſtronger than the *Scots*; whereupon by the Mediation of ſome Perſons a Treaty of Peace was begun, and ſoon finiſhed; wherein it was agreed, That His Majeſty ſhould publiſh a Declaration, whereby all ſhould be confirmed which his Commiſſioners had promiſed in his Name, That a *General Aſſembly* and a *Parliament* be held at *Edenbourgh* in a ſhort time: And laſtly, That upon disbanding their Forces diſſolving their Councils, and reſtoring the King to his Forts and Caſtles, *&c.* the King was to recall his Fleet and Forces, and make reſtitution of their Goods ſince the breach.

The Kings Declaration was no ſooner publiſhed but the *Covenanters* ſet forth another *Proteſtation*, for adhereing to their *Aſſembly* at *Glaſcow*, and their *Covenant*; whereupon the King, who intended to be preſent at their *General Aſſembly*, not finding the *Scots* punctual in performing Articles, and perceiving they would treat of ſome matters diſtaſteful to him, goes into *England*; after which the *Aſſembly* ſate at *Edenbourgh*, and aboliſhed *Epiſcopacy*, the *Liturgy*, *High Commiſſion*, and *Book of Canons*; and then made ſeveral demands of the King of a various nature.

His Majeſty underſtanding how things went, and that the *Scots* levyed Taxes and prepared Arms, he commanded by his Commiſſioner, the Earl of *Traquair*, that their *Parliament* ſhould be Adjourned for ſome time; but the *Covenanters* declared againſt this Command, and ſent a Remonſtrance to the King; and afterward *Hamilton* and *Traquair*, likewiſe came to *London*, where there were ſuch proceedings, as did the more exaſperate the the jarring parties againſt each other.

In this year 1639, a *Spaniſh* Fleet of near Seventy Sail, and Twenty five thouſand Men, deſigned to be landed

at

at *Dunkirk* for the relief of *Flanders*, were set upon by the *Dutch* in the *Downs*, and Eleven of them taken and sent into *Holland*; three perished upon the Coast of *France* one near *Dover*, and five were sunk in the Fight. What the real intent of this Fleet was, is yet uncertain; for it seemed unlikely that Twenty five thousand Men should be sent only for a Recruit, and the Admiral's refusing to shew his Commission when required thereto by the King, makes it seem yet more suspicious.

The *Scots* Commissioners having delivered their Message, return home to *Edenburgh Novemb.* 19. 1639. the same night that a great part of the Castle Wall fell down, and the *Anniversary* of the Kings Birth day. A while after the King sent the Lord *Estrich*, and others, to repair the Walls, who were resisted by the *Covenanters*, as not judging the Lord *Estrich* to be a fit Governour for the Castle; which Office was designed him by the King. The King being hereat extreamly offended, resolved, since fair means would not prevail, to force the *Scots* to Reason; and to that end considers how to make provisions for Men and Money; and calling a secret Cabinet Council, consisting only of Arch-bishop *Laud*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and Duke *Hamilton* (who drove on his own particular interest) it was concluded, *That for the Kings supply a Parliament must be called in* Engl. *and another in* Ireland; but because the Debates of Parliament would take up some time, it was resolved, that the Lords should subscribe to lend the King Money. The Earl of *Strafford* subscribed Twenty thousand pound, the Duke of *Richmond* as much; but *Hamilton* pretended poverty, preserving his Money for other uses; the rest of the Lords, Judges, Officers, and other Dependants, and many of the Gentry yea; even several *Popish* Recusants, contributed according to their Ability.

The *Scots* on the other side foreseeing the storm, prepared for their own Defence, making Treaties in *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Holland* and *Polland*; and the *Jesuites*, (who are never idle,) did likewise endeavour to foment the differences; to which end *Con* the Popes *Nuncio*, Sir *Tob. Matthews*,

Matthews, *Read* and *Maxwel*, two *Scots*, endeavoured to perſwade the diſcontented People, *That the King deſigned to enſlave them to his Will and Pleaſure.* Which practices of theirs were diſcovered by *Andreas Habernsfield*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia*, who declared, That many of the Nobility of *England*, and chief Favourites at Court, were conſenting to theſe Tranſactions, and particularly the Earl and Counteſs of *Arundel*, Secretary *Windebank*, and *Endymion* Porter. *Con* alſo performed the part of a Firebrand, as all his Succeſſors, the Pope Nuncio's that came after him, did likewiſe; and had formerly offered a Cardinal's Cap to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the Popes Name.

In the year 1640. and the Sixteenth of the King, a Parliament was called at *Weſtminſter*, *April* 13. in which the Earl of *Strafford* was highly honoured for his good ſervice in *Ireland*, in obtaining four Subſidies, to maintain Ten thouſand Foot and Fifteen hundred horſe. And that *England* might follow this Example, the King tells the Parliament, that if they would ſupply him, ſo as to ſuppreſs the Inſolences of the *Scots*, he would acquit his claim to *Ship-money*, and give ſatisfaction to their juſt Demands. By which propoſals the Parliament were ſenſible of the Kings Neceſſities, and therefore required; ſatisfaction, 1. *For clearing the Property of the Subject.* 2. *For eſtabliſhing the True Religion.* 3. *For Priviledges of Parliament.*

But whilſt they were debating whether the Grievances of the People or the Kings Supply ſhould be firſt conſidered, and Matters were in an hopeful poſture, Secretary *Vane*, either accidentally, or on purpoſe, overthrew all at once, by declaring that the King required Twelve Subſidies, whereas he at that time only deſired Six; which ſo much inraged the Houſe, and made things ſo ill that by the Advice of the *Junto* the Parliament was diſſolved, having only ſate Twenty two days; however the Privy Council likewiſe adviſed their Diſſolving, being aſſured the heats in the *Houſe of Commons* were ſo great, that they intended that very day to have voted

againſt

againſt the War with *Scotland*; whereby the King would have been in a worſe condition than before their ſiting.

About the ſame time a Convocation of Biſhops ſate, with Commiſſion to make ſuch Canons as they judged for the peace of the Church; and amongſt other things, they impoſed an Oath called, *&c.* (*Et cetera*) as an Anti-covenant againſt the *Scots*; which becauſe it occaſioned much difference, may not be unfitly inſerted.

I A. B. *Do ſwear that I do approve the Doctrine and Diſcipline or Government eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England, *as containing all things neceſſary to Salvation; and that I will not endeavour, by my ſelf, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any* Popiſh *Doctrine, contrary to that ſo eſtabliſhed; nor will I ever give my conſent to alter the Government of this Church by Archbiſhops, Deans, and Arch-Deacons,* ——— *&c.* (Et cæ̃ra, *and ſo forth*) *as it ſtands now eſtabliſhed, and as by right it ought to ſtand, nor yet ever to ſubject it to the Uſurpations and Superſtitions of the See of* Rome: *And all theſe things do I plainly and ſincerely acknowledg and ſwear, according to the plain and common ſenſe or underſtanding of the ſame words, without any Equivocation mental Evaſion, or ſecret Reſervation whatſoever. And this I do heartily, willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Chriſtian.* So help me God in Jeſus Chriſt. This Oath was impoſed upon all Miniſters and was excepted againſt for three Reaſons, 1. Becauſe the (*Et cetera*) did leave the Oath ſo looſe, that neither the Makers nor Takers thereof underſtood the ſame 2. for that exacting an Oath of Diſſer from Civil Eſtabliſhment in things of Indifferency, was an Affront to the very Fundamentals of Government; and laſtly that the Juror therein declares he ſwears willingly to which he wasconſtrainced under the higheſt penalties. This was the chief buſineſs of this Convocation, which ended *May* 26, 1640.

Arch-biſhop *Laud* by his earneſt proceedings againſt Nonconformiſts and ſuch as were called *Puritans*, and by his ſtrict enjoyning of Ceremonies, eſpecially reviving

old

old Ceremonies, which had not been lately obſerved, procured much hatred to himſelf from the People, particularly the *Londoners*, who had a particular diſguſt againſt him, for his ſeverity upon Mr. *Burton*, *Pryn*, and *Baſtwick*; inſomuch, that upon *May* 9, 1640, a Paper was fixed upon the *Royal Exchange*, inciting the Apprentices to riſe and ſack his Houſe at *Lambeth* the Monday after; which they were the more inclined to do, becauſe it was reported that he was the chief inſtigator of the King to diſſolve the laſt Parliament; but the Arch-Biſhop had notice of their Deſign, and provided accordingly; however upon Monday at midnight about Five Hundred of them beſet his Houſe, and endeavoured to enter, but were repulſed, and forced to depart; having in ſome meaſure vented their Spleen in words, and breaking his Glaſs-Windows. The next day many of them were apprehended and impriſoned, but three days after they were forcibly reſcued from thence by their Companions who broke open the Priſon doors; for which one of the Ring-leaders was drawn, hanged and quartered, and his head and quarters ſet upon *London* Bridge.

The King grew daily more offended againſt the *Scots* and calls a Select *Junćto* to conſult about them, where the Earl of *Strafford* delivered his mind in ſuch Terms as were afterward made uſe of to his Deſtruction; War againſt them was reſolved on, and Money was to be procured one way or other; the City of *London* was invited to lend, but refuſed, and pleaded poverty, being diſtaſted it ſeems at ſome proceedings in the *Star-chamber*, about their Plantation of *London-Derry* in *Ireland*, which was judged to be forfeited for ſome alledged miſdemeanors, and the Undertakers fined; yet the Citizens were willing to offer a large Sum, for the building a Magnificent Palace for the King in St. *James's Park*, which took no effect: The Gentry contributed indifferent freely; ſo that with their Aſſiſtance the Royal Army was compleated, the King himſelf being *Generaliſſimo*, the Earl of *Northumberland* General, and the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant General; *Northumberland* falls ſick, and therefore the King takes

takes the Command upon himself, and sends away part of the Army, Horse and Foot under the Lord *Conway* into the North. *July* 20th. 1640. the Queen was delivered of a Son. who was Christened *Henry*, afterward Created Duke of *Gloceſter*. In the mean time the L. *Conway* had but ill Succeſs, for having drawn about 1200 Horse and 3000 Foot to secure the Paſſes upon the River *Tyne*, the *Scotch* Army under their General *Leſly* advanced thither, better provided than before; and *Auguſt* 27, *Leſly* desired leave of the L. *Conway*, for his whole Army to paſs to the King with their Petition, which was denied: whereupon about 300 *Scotch* Horse attempted to paſs the River, but were beaten back by the *Engliſh* Muſquetiers, who were placed under a Breast-work.

Leſly comes on with his Horse, and charges Commmiſſary General *Wilmot*, who maintained the ground very ſtoutly till overborn with multitude and Canon, they were put to a diſorderly Retreat, both Horse and Foot; upon which the L, *Conway* haſtes to the King with the unwelcome News; Sir *Jacob Aſtly*, Governor of *Newcaſtle* finding himself unable to defend the place, deſerts it, ſinking the great Guns in the River, whereby *Newcaſtle* and *Durham* came in a ſhort time into the hands of the *Scots*. And now *Strafford* comes up, with whom the King retreats to *York* and ſtays there while *Strafford*, who was now ſole Commander, charges the whole miſcarriage upon *Conway*, who as ſtoutly denies it.

The King had formerly declared the *Scots* to be Rebels and Traytors by Proclamation, and commanded that publick Prayers ſhould be put up againſt them in all Churches, but at this time he is contented to treat with them; and to that end he receives a Petition from them complaining of their Grievances: To which he anſwers by his Secretary of *Scotland*, that he expects their particular demands, which he receives in three days, all tending to require a Parliament to be called in *England*, without which there could be no ſatisfactory redreſs for them; they had likewiſe before their March into *England* publiſhed a Declaration, called, *The Intentions of the Army*, viz.

viz. *Not to lay down Arms, till the Reformed Religion were ſetled in both Nations upon ſure grounds, and the Cauſes and Abettors of their preſent troubles that is, Arch-Biſhop* Laud, *and the Earl of* Strafford, *were brought to publick Juſtice in Parliament.* At the ſame time twelve *Engliſh* Peers, that is, the Earls of *Bedford, Hartford, Eſſex, Warwick, Mulgrave, Briſtol, Bullingbrook, Say* and *Seal, Mandevil, Howard, Brook* and *Paget* drew up a Petition which they delivered to the King, for the ſitting of the Parliament: After which divers others were preſented to the ſame purpoſe from the City of *London*, and ſeveral others parts of the Kingdom, all centring in this, that nothing could relieve the Preſſures of the Kingdom but a Parliament.

To this the King condeſcends in part, giving hopes likewiſe of further ſatisfaction ere long; and for the preſent Summons the Lords to appear at *York, Sep.* 24. which they did, and upon the firſt day of their meeting it was agreed, That a Parliament ſhould be called to meet *November* 3 following, and then (for the relief of the *North* ſorely ſuffering under *Leſlies* Army, the Biſhoprick of *Durham* being then taxed 360 *l.* and *Northumberland* 300 *l.* a day,) it was reſolved, that a Treaty ſhould be ſet on Foot, and that Sixteen *Engliſh* Lords, ſhould meet with as many *Scots*, and *York* was propoſed for the place of Treaty, which the *Scotch* Commiſſioners refuſed, as not judging it ſafe by reaſon of the preſence of the Earl of *Strafford*, who had Proclaimed them Traytors in *Ireland*, and was now chief Commander of the Kings Army, & a Capital Enemy to their Nation, & againſt whom they had matter of high Complaint; therefore it was concluded to be held at *Rippon*, where among other things it was agreed, that the *Scottiſh* Army ſhould be maintained by the *Engliſh*, till the Treaty was ended, and peace ſecured; that there ſhould be a ſafe Convoy for all Letters between the *Scots* and the Parliament of *England*. The firſt of theſe Articles ſeemed unreaſonable and diſhonourable to the *Engliſh* Nation: and the Earl of *Strafford* was ſo offended thereat, that he deſired leave of the King to give them Battel, and *was willing* (*as he writ to Arch-Biſhop*

Biſhop Laud) *to undertake upon the Peril of his Head with his Army of Engliſh Graſhoppers to beat thoſe Sons of Anak* home again, for ſo much Superiour were the *Scots* then accounted to the *Engliſh* as to matter of Souldiers; but *October* 16. the *Engliſh* Commanders, whether through Fear, Favour, or out of a Political Maxim not to fight againſt the *Scots*, condeſcended to Articles of Agreement which were afterward ſigned by the King himſelf.

This Treaty of *Rippon* was but previous to another of higher Importance at *London* for a general concluding and making up all differences between the King and his Subjects of *Scotland*; during which Treaty, *James* Earl of *Montroſs* made ſeveral Applications to the King, and by Letters offered his ſervice to him, teſtifying his diſlike of the *Scottiſh* Proceedings; but theſe his Letters were ſaid to have been ſecretly taken out of the Kings Pockets, and conveyed to the *Covenanters* by the means of *Hamilton*; who underſtanding *Montroſs* his deſign, uſed all means to render him odious to the People, and ſo unſerviceable to the King.

And now the time approached for the ſitting of the Parliament, who accordingly met, *November* 3. 1640. which was looked upon by Arch-Biſhop *Laud* as a fatal day for Summoning of Parliaments, in reference to Church-matters; the Parliament in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, which pulled down Abbies and Monaſteries, being likewiſe Aſſembled upon *November* 3. Whereupon he adviſed the King for lucks ſake to put off their meeting for 2 or 3 days, but the King not minding any ſuch Obſervations, did not regard it.

To give ſome Account of the temper of thoſe times it may not be amiſs to repeat the words of a Perſon of Honour, who was then a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and hath lately publiſhed ſome Paſſages concerning that Parliament.

'Never Parliament (ſaith he) was aſſembled when 'the People were in an higher diſcontent than at this 'time, ſuch a general Diffidence there was, as they 'thought themſelves ſure of nothing; the increaſe of

'Cere-

'Ceremonies made them fear the approach of a Re-'ligion hateful to them; the late buſineſs of *Ship-money*, 'together with ſome Impoſitions, without the conſent 'of Parliament, cauſed them to apprehend the loſs of 'Property in their Eſtates, and they had little hope of 'Redreſs by Parliaments, becauſe his then Majeſty had 'been ſo unhappy as to be put upon a ſudden Diſſolution 'of all Parliaments formerly by him called: There 'wanted not Perſons ill diſpoſed, and ſeditious to trum-'pet theſe things in the ears of the generality, whereby 'they incenſed them ſo far, as thereby they found means 'to raiſe a Power againſt their Soveraign.

Mr. *William Lenthal* was Choſen Speaker of the Houſe of *Commons*, and the King in a Speech tells them that the *Scottiſh* Troubles were the Cauſe of their preſent Meeting, and therefore requires them to conſider of the moſt expedient means for caſting them out, and then promiſes that he will heartily and clearly concur with them for the ſatisfying their juſt Grievances: After which, he gave them an Account of his want of Money for the maintaining of his Army, and how diſhonourable it would be to the *Engliſh* Nation, if his Army ſhould be disbanded before the *Scots* were put out of the Kingdom; and deſired them to conſider of the Oppreſſion of the *Northern* Countries during the Treaty.

It was ill reſented by many that the King ſhould call the *Scots* Rebels, whereupon he took occaſion to tell them that he muſt needs call them Rebels; as long as they have an Army which did invade *England*. The *Commons* then Voted down all Monopolies, and all ſuch Members as had any benefit by them were expelled out of the Houſe; Complaint was made in the Houſe of Lords againſt Sir *William Beecher*, one of the Clerks of the Council, for violating their Priviledges, in ſearching the Earl of *Warwicks*, and the Lord *Brooks* Studies, Cabinets and Pockets, upon the diſſolving the laſt Parliament; upon which he was committed Priſoner to the *Fleet*, though he pleaded the Command of the Secretary of State for his ſo doing, The E. of *Strafford* is Impeached

of

of High Treaſon by the *Commons* in the Houſe of Lords, whereupon he is ſequeſtred from the Houſe, and likewiſe his Friend Sir *George Ratcliff* is ſent for out of *Ireland* by a Serjeant at Arms: In the mean time the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who was *Priſoner* in the *Tower* is releaſed; and likewiſe Mr. *Pryn* and Mr. *Burton*, who are brought in great Triumph to *London*, and *December* 3 they preſented their *Petition* againſt their *Proſecutors*.

And now the *Papiſts* begin to fear a Cloud, for Juſtice *Howard* was to deliver up a Catalogue of all Recuſants within the Liberties of *Weſtminſter*, to prevent which he was ſtabbed by one Mr. *John James* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; for which he was impriſoned in the *Gate-houſe* in order to a more ſevere puniſhment: But Sir *Francis Windebank* Secretary of State, fearing to be called to Account by the Parliament for reprieving *Jeſuits* and *Prieſts*, which he knew would be produced againſt him, if not worſe matters, fled privately into *France*. *December* 7th. the *Commons* Voted *Ship-money*, with the Opinion of the Judges thereupon to be Illegal; and a Charge of *High-Treaſon* was ordered to be drawn up againſt eight of them; and they reſolved to begin with the Lord Keeper *Finch*. *December* 11th Alderman *Pennington* and ſome hundreds of Citizens preſented a Petition, ſubſcribed by 15000 Hands, againſt Church Diſcipline & Ceremonies, and a while after the Houſe of Commons Voted *That the Clergy in a Synod or Convocation have no power to make Canons or Laws without Parliaments; and that the Canons are againſt the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, the Kings Prerogative, the Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and tend to Faction and Sedition.*

In purſuance hereof a Charge was ordered to be drawn up againſt Arch-biſhop *Laud* as the principal framer of thoſe Canons, and other Delinquencies; which Impeachment was ſeconded by another from the *Scotch* Commiſſioners; upon which he was committed to the Black Rod, and ten weeks after Voted Guilty of High-Treaſon, and ſent to the *Tower*, the *Scots* likewiſe prefer a charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford* then in Cuſtody, re-

requiring Juſtice againſt them both, as the great Incendiaries, and Diſturbers of Church and State, and Sir *George Ratcliff*, the Earls Boſom Friend, had Articles drawn againſt him to this purpoſe.

That he had conſpired with the Earl to bring Ireland *under an Arbitrary Government, and to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws, and to bring an Army from* Ireland *to ſubdue the Subjects of* England. *That he perſwaded the Earl to uſe Regal Power, and to deprive the Subjects of their Liberties and Properties. That he countenanced Papiſts, and built Monaſteries, to alienate the Affections of the* Iriſh *from* England. *That he withdrew the Subjects of* Scotland *from their King.* And laſtly, *That to preſerve himſelf and the Earl of* Strafford, *he laboured to ſubvert the Liberties and Priviledges of Parliament in* Ireland.

The Lord Keeper *Finch* was the next Perſon deſigned to be cenſured, and notwithſtanding a Speech made in his own Vindication, he was Voted a Traytor upon ſeveral Accounts; and among the reſt, *for ſoliciting, perſwading, and threatning the Judges to deliver their opinions for raiſing Ship-money, and for ſeveral ill Offices done in moving the King to diſſolve the laſt* Parliament, *and cauſing the publiſhing the Kings Declaration thereupon.* Next day he was accuſed before the Lords, but he foreſaw the Storm, and went over into *Holland*.

The Parliament having now removed their Enemies, and increaſing in Reputation, were deſigning a Bill for a *Triennial Parliament*; for promoting which, Petitions came from divers places, one whereof was ſubſcribed with 800 Hands directly againſt *Epiſcopacy*, which the King took notice of, and calling both Houſes together, tells them, *Of their ſlowneſs, and the charge of two Armies in the Kingdom, and that he would have them avoid two Rocks, the one about the Hierarchy of Biſhops, which he was willing to Reform but not to alter; The other concerning frequent Parliaments, which he liked well, but not to give his Power to* Sheriffs *and* Conſtables.

About this time one *Goodman* a *Popiſh* Prieſt, condemned at the Seſſions in *London*, was reprieved by the King; upon

upon which both Houſes petitioned to know who were the Inſtruments of it; and receiving an unſatisfactory Anſwer, they Remonſtrated againſt the Toleration of *Papiſts*, and the *Popes* Nuncio *Roſetti*, and this *Goodman*, whom they deſired might be left to the Juſtice of the Law; to this the King anſwers, *That the increaſe of Popery and Papiſts in his Dominions, is extreamly againſt his mind, and that he would uſe all poſſible means for the reſtraining of it: As for the Popes* Nuncio Roſetti, *he had no Commiſſion, but only to preſerve Correſpondence between the Queen and the Pope, which was allowed her by the Articles of Marriage, however he had prevailed with her to remove him, and is contented to remit the particular Caſe of* Goodman *to both Houſes.*

The *Scots* had been now quartered in *England* five months, during which a Ceſſation had been concluded at *Rippon*, but the full Pacification was reſerved for *London*, where Commiſſioners ſate on both Parties to hear the Demands of the *Scots*, and to make anſwer thereunto. After which the *Scots* preſented the great Account of their Charges, which was Five hundred fourteen thouſand, one hundred twenty eight pounds nine Shillings, beſides the loſs of their Nation, which was Four hundred and forty thouſand pounds. This Reckoning ſtartled the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, till the *Scots* told them, *They did not give in that Account as expecting a Total Reparation of their Charges and Loſſes, but were content to bear a part of it; hoping for the reſt, from the Juſtice and Kindneſs of* England. There was ſome oppoſition made to the Demands, however Moneys were raiſed for the preſent from the City of *London*, for the ſupply of both the *Northern* Armies, as the Parliament had done once before.

At this time a Match was propounded between the young Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary*, Eldeſt Daughter to the King, which his Majeſty liked well of, and communicated it to the Parliament; with whom it found an unanimous and general Reception, in regard of the Alliance to be thereupon concluded with the *States General*; and likewiſe that he was of the ſame *Proteſtant Religion* with *England*, ſo that the Marriage was ſoon concluded.

Preſently

Preſently after four Members of the Commons delivered a Meſſage to the Lords of a *Popiſh Deſign* of Levying an Army of Fifteen thouſand in *Lancaſhire*, and Eight thouſand in *Ireland*, and that the main promoters thereof were the Earls of *Strafford* and *Worceſter*.

In *February* Sir *Robert Berkly*, one of the Judges about *Ship-money*, was accuſed of High Treaſon, and committed Priſoner to the Black Rod. In this Month the King paſſed that Act for a *Triennial Parliament*, and to let them know what value he put upon this great favour his Majeſty told the Two Houſes, *That hitherto they had gone on in thoſe things which concerned themſelves, and now he expected they ſhould proceed upon what concerned him.*

The King then likewiſe ſigned the Bill of *Subſidies*, which gave them ſuch univerſal content, that Sir *Edward Littleton* Lord Keeper, was ordered *To return the Humble Thanks of both Houſes to his Majeſty at Whitehall.* Upon which there were Bonefires and Bells ringing in and about *London*, in the ſame manner as formerly upon granting the *Petition of Right*.

March 1. 1640, Archciſhop *Laud* upon an Accuſation of High Treaſon by the *Commons*, was committed to the *Tower*: And now *Epiſcopacy* itſelf was called in queſtion, and though the Lord *Digby* made a witty and weighty Speech in Defence of it, and Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* gave his Judgment for the Moderation and Emendation of it and the Liturgy, not the Extirpation thereof, yet the Wings of Epiſcopacy were ſhrewdly clipt, for *March* 10. The Commons Voted, *That no Biſhop ſhould have any Vote in* Parliament, *nor any Judicial* Power *in the* Star-Chamber, *nor be concerned in any Temporal matters; and that no Clergy-man ſhould be a Juſtice of* Peace.

Upon *Monday March* 26, 1640. the Earl of *Straffords* Tryal began in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the King, Queen and Prince being preſent; and the *Commons* likewiſe being there as a Committee at the managing their Accuſation; the Earl of *Arundel* was Lord High Steward, and the Earl of *Lindſey* Lord High Conſtable, the Earl of *Strafford* though he had but ſhort warning, yet had gotten his Defence

Defence ready againſt the time. The Accuſation was managed by Mr. *Pym*, conſiſting of Twenty eight Articles, to moſt of which the Earl made particular Replies.

But the *Commons* were reſolved to proſecute him to the utmoſt, and had therefore procured the Parliament of *Ireland* to proſecute him there alſo, as guilty of High Treaſon; which being unexpectedly produced, extorted from the Earl this paſſionate Expreſſion, *That there was a Conſpiracy againſt him, to take away his* Life. At which the *Commons* cryed out againſt him, *That ſtanding Impeached of High Treaſon, he durſt accuſe the Parliament of two Kingdoms of Conſpiracy againſt him.* But beſides all theſe, certain notes were produced againſt him, which were taken by Sir *H. Vane* in a cloſe Committee of ſelect Counſellors, whom the King had choſen to conſult about his ſecond Expedition againſt the *Scots*; out of which it was alledged againſt the Earl, *That he had given the King advice to borrow an Hundred Thouſand* Pound *of the* City *of* London, *To levy Ship-money rigorouſly; and that his Majeſty having tryed the Affections of his* People, *was abſolved and looſed from all Rules of Government, and might do what power would admit; and having an Army in* Ireland, *might imploy it for the reducing of this Kingdom, which he was ſure could not hold out five months: And* London *being full of the Nobility, the* Commiſſion of Array, *was to be ſet on Foot, and all Oppoſers thereof to be ſeverely dealt with.*

To this the Earl replyed, 'That he conceived it lawful 'for a Privy Councillor to have freedom of Voting with 'others; and as to the matter of the *Engliſh* Army, he 'thought that the ſingle Teſtimony of one man (Secre-'tary *Vane*) was not of Validity in Law, much leſs in Life 'and Death, and that the Depoſitions of Secretary *Vane* 'were doubtful, as appeared by ſeveral Examinations, 'and that there were preſent at the Debate but eight Privy 'Councillors, whereof two were not to be produced, and 'four others declared upon their Honours that they never 'heard him ſpeak thoſe words, or any like them; and 'laſtly, That if he had ſpoken them (which he yet gran-'ted not) that the word *This* Kingdom, could not imply

England,

'*England*, the debate being concerning *Scotland*, there 'being not the leaſt intention of Landing the *Iriſh* Army 'in *England*; and concluded his Defence with telling the 'Lords, that he was accuſed as guilty of Treaſon for en-'deavouring to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the 'Land, but it ſeemed ſtrange to him that it ſhould be 'Treaſon together which was not Treaſon in any 'part; and laſtly deſired the Lords to conſider how 'their own Priviledges, and other miniſters of State, 'would ſuffer by his Condemnation.

The *Commons* muſt now juſtifie their Charge by Law, to which end they produced the *Salvo* annexed to the Stat. of 25 *Ed.* 3. The words were theſe, *Becauſe all particular Treaſons could not be then defined; therefore what the Parliament ſhould declare to be Treaſon, in time to come ſhould be puniſhed as Treaſon*; And ſo this *Salvo* was to be the Ground work of the *Bill of Attainder*. This being a point of Law, the Earl had Council allowed him, who anſwered on his behalf, *That the Statute which they cited was but a Declaration and a Penal Law, and would no way admit of ſuch Conſequential and Inferential Conſtructions, and that this* Salvo *was repealed by an Act of Parliament in the Sixth of* Henry *the fourth*. And ſo the Court Adjourned without prefixing any time of Meeting; for the Commons proceeded to diſpatch their *Bill of Attainder*, and *April* 19, 1641, they Voted the Earl Guilty of High Treaſon, upon the Evidence of Secretary *Vane* and his Notes; And upon the 25th. they paſſed the Bill & ſent it to the Lords for their Concurrence, to whom it ſeemed at firſt ſo perplext a buſineſs, that the Commons were forced to ſend Mr. *Saint-John* the Kings Sollicitor, to confer with them about it, who gave them ſuch ſatisfaction, that thence forward they ſhewed greater propenſity to the Earls Condemnation.

In the mean time the Commons petitioned the King, 1. *To remove all Papiſts from Court.* 2. *For diſarming of them generally throughout the Kingdom.* 3. *For disbanding the* Iriſh *Army.* To which the King anſwered. 1. *They all knew what Legal Truſt the Crown hath in that particular,* there-

therefore he ſhall not need to ſay any thing to aſſure them that he ſhall uſe it ſo, as there ſhall be no juſt cauſe of ſcandal. 2. As for the ſecond he is content it ſhall be done by Law. And for the laſt, he had entred into Conſultation about it, finding many difficulties therein, and doth ſo wiſh the disbanding of all Armies, as he did conjure them ſpeedily and heartily to joyn with him in disbanding theſe two here, Scots *and* Engliſh.

The Houſe of Commons having finiſhed their *Bill of Attainder* againſt the E. of *Strafford*, and the King fearing the Concluſion, and being willing to do ſome good Office to him, His Majeſty *May* 1, 1641, calls both Houſes together, and in a Speech tells them, *That he had been preſent at the hearing of that great Cauſe, and that in his Conſcience, poſitively he could not condemn him of High Treaſon, and yet could not clear him of miſdemeanours; but hoped a way might be found out to ſatisfie Juſtice and their fears without oppreſſing his Conſcience.* And ſo he diſmiſſed them to their great diſcontent, which was propagated ſo far, that *May* 3. near a Thouſand Citizens, moſt of them armed with Swords, Cudgels, and Staves, came thronging down to *Weſtminſter*, crying out for *Juſtice againſt the Earl of* Strafford; eſpecially applying themſelves to the Earl of *Montgomery*, Lord Chamberlain, by whoſe perſwaſions, and promiſes their fury was partly abated: However they poſted upon the Gate at *Weſtminſter* a liſt of the Names of thoſe who would have acquitted the Earl, whom they ſtiled *Straffordians*.

The Parliament being Informed that ſome endeavours were uſed, to raiſe a Diſguſt in the *Engliſh* Northern Army againſt their Proceedings, they now enter into a National Proteſtation to maintain with Life, Power, and Eſtate the True Reformed *Proteſtant* Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovations: Which was ordered to be printed and publiſhed through the Kingdom.

May 5. The Lords acquainted the Commons, *That they thought it the ſafeſt courſe to lay by the* Bill of Attainder, *becauſe it brought in the King for Judge*, And the next day they debated

debated the ſeveral Articles of his Impeachment, and voted the Earl guilty of High Treaſon upon Two of them, that is, the 15th. *For Leveying of monys in* Ireland *by force in a Warlike manner*; and the 16th, *For Impoſing an Oath upon the Subjects of* Ireland.

The Commons had now finiſhed a Bill, *For the Continuance of the Parliament*; which having paſſed the Lords, was tendred to the King to be ſigned; together with the *Bill of Attainder*. His Majeſty anſwered, that on Monday following he would ſatisfie them; and on the Sunday before, the King ſpent the whole day in conſulting about the Earl of *Strafford* with the Judges and Biſhops: The Judges told him, *That in point of Law, (according to the Oath made by* Sir H. Vane *of the Earls advice, to raiſe Horſe to awe this Nation) he was guilty of Treaſon.* In the evening the Five Biſhops, *viz.* of *Armagh*, *London*, *Durham*, *Lincoln*, and *Carliſle*, were called into the King to ſatisfie his Conſcience about it, who all agreed, *That the King might ſhew mercy without any ſcruple, and that he could not condemn the Earl, if he did not think him Guilty*: This was to matter of Fact, but as to matter of Law, *he was to reſt in the Opinion of the Judges.*

Monday *May* 10. The King gives Commiſſion to ſeveral Lords to paſs two Bills, one the *Bill of Attainder* againſt the Earl of *Strafford*: The other, *For continuing the Parliament, during the pleaſure of both Houſes*; Which laſt Act was occaſioned for ſatisfying the *Scots*, who required vaſt Sums of Money; and for disbanding both the Armies: whereby great Taxes were laid upon the People by Act of Parliament, which could not poſſibly be levied in a ſhort time, and therefore there needed a preſent Supply from the City of *London*, who (as it was alledged) would not part with their money, leaſt a Diſſolution of the Parliament ſhould happen before payment, upon which Account the King was preſſed to paſs this Act.

The ſame Day the Bill was paſſed againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, the King ſent Sir *Dudley Carlton*, *Secretary* of State, to acquaint the Earl with what was done, and the

Motive

Motives thereto, whereat the E. was greatly astonish't; but the next day the King being troubled, writes a Letter with his own hand to the House of Lords, and sent it by the Prince of *Wales*, telling them, *That whereas Justice had been satisfied in his Condemnation, an intermixture of mercy would not now be unseasonable; and therefore he desired them, that if it might be done without any discontent to the People, the Earl might be permitted to fulfil the Natural Course of his Life in close Imprisonment, sequestr'd from all Publick Affairs, provided he never attempted to make an Escape; however he thought it a work of Charity to reprieve him till Saturday.* But nothing could be obtained in favour of him, but that the Lords said, *Their Intention was to be suitors to His Majesty to shew favour to his Innocent Children and that whatever provision himself had made for them, it might be confirmed.*

Some Designs were to have been laid for his Escape, however *May* 12, 1641, the Earl of *Strafford* was conveyed from the Tower by a Guard consisting of the Trained Bands, Marshals men, Sheriffs officers, and Wardens of the Tower. Before him went his Gentleman-Usher bare headed, and he himself followed, accompanied with the Archbishop of *Armagh* and others. As he went along he passed by Arch-Bishop *Lauds* Lodging, and spying him at the Window he called to him for his Prayers and his Blessing; but the Bishop at the sight of him was so surpriz'd that for some time he could not recollect himself, and being reprehended by his Friends of an undecent Pusillanimity, He Replyed; *That he doubted not but when that bitter Cup should come to his turn, he should taste it with a most Christian Courage.*

The Earl being come to the Scaffold upon *Tower-hill*, addrest himself to the Arch-bishop of *Armagh* to this Effect, *That he was come to pay the last Debt he owed to Sin, with a good hope of rising again to Righteousness: That he dyed willingly, forgave all and submitted to Justice: He professed himself guiltless as to the matter for which he dyed; He wished all prosperity to the King and People; and acquitted him from the guilt of his death, as having acted therein no otherwise than as constrained: He advised his Adversaries to repent of their Vio-*

lent Proceedings againſt him; and telling them that he thought it a ſtrange way to write in Blood the beginning of Reformation and Settlement of the Kingdom. However he wiſhed that his Blood might reſt, and not cry againſt them. He declared, He died in the Faith of the Church of England, *for whoſe happineſs he prayed, and concluded his Speech with intreating the Spectators* to pray for him. After which he kneeled down to Prayer, and riſing up again took his laſt leave of his Brother Sir *George Wentworth* and all his Friends, ſending his Love to his Wife, and his Bleſſing to his Children; with a moſt ſtrict Injunction to His Onely Son, *Never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church*: And then giving the ſign to the Executioner, his head was ſevered from his body at the firſt ſtroke.

This was the end of that Great and Able Miniſter of State, who is reported when he heard the King had conſented to the *Bill of Attainder*, to have lift up his Eyes to Heaven, and clapping his hand upon his heart, to have cried out (perhaps in imitation of Cardinal *Woolſeys* Complaint) *Put not your Truſt in Princes, nor in the Sons of Men, for in them is no Salvation.* And indeed it ſeemed very hard that he ſhould be made guilty of High Treaſon by a Bill framed on purpoſe, without former Preſident; and to which His Majeſties Conſent was in a manner extorted, and which he afterward bewailed with great remorſe of Conſcience, though it is ſaid the King was not ſo much convinced by any thing ſaid to him, but the chief Motive was a Letter from the Earl, wherein he thus concluded.

Sir, (*To ſet your Majeſty's Conſcience at Liberty*) *I do moſt humbly beſeech you, for the Preventing of ſuch miſchiefs as may happen by your refuſal to paſs the* Bill, *by this means to remove praiſed be God* (*I cannot ſay this accurſed but*) *this Unfortunate* Thing, *forth of the way, towards that bleſſed Agreement which God I truſt ſhall for ever eſtabliſh between You and Your Subjects. My conſent herein ſhall more acquit you to God, than all the world can do beſide: To a willing man there is no injury done.*

His Character is Expreſſed by the King his Maſter, in his

his *Eikon Basilike*, who said, *He looked upon the Earl of* Strafford *as a Gentleman, whose great Abilities might make a Prince rather afraid than ashamed to Imploy him in the greatest Affairs of State.*

The fall of this powerful man so startled other great Officers of State, that several resigned their places: About the same time some discontents arose between the Parliament and the English Army in the *North*, but a while after both Armies were disbanded. The payment of *Tunnage* and *Poundage* had been much questioned since 1628. but now the King at the request of the Commons was content to relinquish his Claim to it, and afterward passed *a Bill for Pole-money, and two others for putting down the Star-Chamber and High Commission Courts*; which had proceeded with too much severity, having so far out grown the power of the Law, that they would not be limited nor guided by it.

July 5. A Charge was brought into the House of Commons against Dr. *Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, being accused of some Treasonable Misdemeanors in his Diocess; who thereupon Voted him unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any office of Dignity in Church or State, and desired the Lords to joyn with them, to request the King for his removal from his service; and so he was committed to the *Tower*, and about the same time the Writs for *Ship-money*, and all the Proceedings therein were by the Kings consent judged void; and 5 of the Judges that gave their Opinions for it, were Impeached of high misdemeanor; that is *Bramston, Trevor, Weston, Davenport*, and *Crawly*; and *Berkly* another of the Judges was accused for Treason, but no further prosecution was made therein.

August 6. Both the *English* and *Scotch* Armies were disbanded, and four days after the King went toward *Scotland* and was entertained with great demonstrations of Affection by that Nation, and conferred several places of Honour and Power upon divers of them; confirming likewise the Treaty between the two Nations by Act of Parliament.

October 23, 1641. A Horrid and Notorious Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, which was managed with such secresie, that it was not discovered till the night before it was to have been put in Execution; which was in divers places carried on with such fury, that Two Hundred Thousand *English* Men, Women, and Children, were in a short space barbarously murdered by all manner of most cruel Torments that their Deviliſh minds could invent. And this was chiefly occasioned by the Instigation of the *Iriſh* Popiſh Prieſts, Monks and Fryers, who every where declaimed loudly againſt the Proteſtants, saying, *That they were Hereticks, and not to be ſuffered any longer to live amongſt them, That it was no more ſin to kill one of them than to kill a dog; and that it was a mortal and unpardonable ſin to relieve or protect any of them.* Yea the Prieſts gave the Sacrament to divers of the *Iriſh*, upon condition they ſhould ſpare neither Man, Woman, nor Child of the Proteſtants, saying, *That it did them a great deal of good to waſh their hands in their blood: and that they were worſe than Dogs; and if any of them died in the Quarrel, before their bodies were cold, their Souls ſhould be in Heaven without ever calling in at* Purgatory *by the way.*

This bloody Rebellion happened in a time wherein the *Iriſh* had all the Priviledges and Liberty they could reaſonably expect, and the ancient hatred which the *Iriſh* had born to the *Engliſh*, did now seem to be forgotten, Forty years of Peace having compacted and cemented them together, both by Alliances and Marriages, which were all now miſerably broken and deſtroyed. The Caſtle of *Dublin*, wherein were Ten thouſand Arms, and all other Forts and Magazines in the Kingdom, were to have been ſurprized, and all the *Engliſh Proteſtants* that would not joyn with them, were to be murthered; but the ſeizing of the Caſtle was happily prevented by one *Owen Conally*, from ſome diſcourſe accidentally in a Tavern with one *Hugh Mac Mahon*, Grandſon to the Great Earl of *Tyrone* the night before the intended Execution.

Upon this Diſcovery *Mac Mahon* and Lord *Mac-Guire*

were seized by the Lords Chief Justices of *Ireland*, and many Principal Conspirators escaped that night out of *Dublin*; so was *Dublin* saved, that all *Ireland* might not be lost in one day. But the horrid Design was past prevention as to the general, for the Conspirators were in Arms at the day appointed in all the Counties round about, and poor *English* Protestants daily arrived there, robbed and spoiled of all they had; giving lamentable Relations how their Houses were seized, the Towns and Villages fired, and in all parts all manner of cruel Outrages and Villanies committed. The Lords Justices Sir *William Parsons* and Sir *John Burlace*, taking those Arms which they found in *Dublin*, and Arming whom they could to defend themselves, sent Sir *Henry Spotswood* to the King then in *Scotland*, with an Account of all that happened, who dispatched Sir *James Stuart* with Instructions to the Lords of the Privy Council in *Ireland*, and to carry all the Money his present Stores would supply. He likewise moved the Parliament of *Scotland* (as being neareſt) for their assistance, but they excused it, because *Ireland* was a dependant upon the Crown of *England*; but if the State of *England* would use any of their men for that service, they would make Propositions in order to it. At the same time likewise, the King sent Post to the Parliament of *England*, and a while after *Owen O Conally* the first Discoverer of the Plot, came to *London* and brought Letters to the Earl of *Leicester* (who was chosen Deputy, but not yet gone over) wherein the Lords Justices desired some Reward might be given him; upon which the Parliament Voted him a Gift of 500*l.* and an Annuity of 200*l.* a year, and at a Conference of both Houses they passed several Votes for the Relief of *Ireland*, yet little was done till the Kings return from *Scotland*, which was about the end of *November*.

The *Irish*, to dishearten the *English* from any resistance, bragged, *That the Queen was with their Army, That the King would come amongst them also, and assist them; That they did but maintain his Cause against the* Puritans: *That they had the Kings Commission for what they did* (shewing

indeed a Patent themſelves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an Old Broad Seal which had been taken from an Ancient Patent out of *Farnham* Abby by one *Plunket* in the preſence of many of their Lords and Prieſts, as was afterwards atteſted by the Confeſſion of ſeveral:) *That the* Scots *were in the Confederacy with them*; And to ſeem to confirm this laſt, they abſtained for ſome time from deſtroying the Eſtates or murdering any of that Nation: And on the other ſide, to incourage the *Iriſh*, they produced pretended Letters; wherein they ſaid they were informed from *England*, *That the Parliament had paſſed an Act, all the* Iriſh *ſhould be compelled to the Proteſtant worſhip*, and for the firſt offence in refuſing, to forfeit all their Goods, for the ſecond their Eſtates, and for the third their Lives; And beſides this they preſented them with the hopes of Liberty, *That the* Engliſh *Yoke ſhould be ſtricken off*; *That they ſhould have a King of their own Nation, and that then all the Goods and Eſtates of the* Engliſh *ſhould be divided amongſt them.*

With theſe Motives of Spoil and Liberty, which were ſtrengthened by the former of Religion, the Rebellion increaſed: The Rebels in *Ulſter* commanded by Sir *Phelim O Neal* aſſiſted by his Brother, the Brother of the Lord *Mac Guire*, *Philip O Reley*, and ſeveral others had poſſeſſed moſt of the ſtrong places in that Province; and many other, which they could not take by force nor treachery, were delivered to them by the *Engliſh* upon Articles, which they afterwards like true (or rather falſe) Papiſts, moſt perfidiouſly broke; Butchering and Maſſacring the poor *Engliſh* without pity or compaſſion to Age or Sex; though they ſtill ſpared the *Scotch* Plantations in *Ulſter*, becauſe of their Numbers, and likewiſe for fear of the *Scotch* Army, ſo eaſily to be tranſported to the North parts of *Ireland*: But now their General Sir *Phelim O Neal* (one of the Race of the late bloody Earl of *Tyrone*, a pretended *Proteſtant* till ſome time before) having got together a vaſt number of the Natives, fell upon them and deſtroyed their Houſes and Goods; and though they did not exerciſe that Cruelty on their Bodies,

Bodies, yet they ſtript them and drove them Naked to the *Scottiſh* Shore; from thence he marched into other parts, and took *Dundalk*, incamping at *Arde* near *Tredagh*.

The King finding his ſtay to be longer than he thought, left the whole buſineſs of *Ireland* to the Parliament, who declared a ſpeedy and vigorous Aſſiſtance, and Voted Fifty thouſand Pound for a preſent Supply. By which time the Lords of the Council of *Ireland* had armed as many as were able, and given Commiſſions for raiſing ſeveral Regiments, of whom the Earl of *Ormond* was made Lieutenant General, and a Regiment was ſent from *England* under Sir *Simon Harcourt*; about which time the King returned out of *Scotland*, and was Entertained and Feaſted at *London*, and from thence Conducted to *White-Hall*: after which the King Treated ſeveral Chief Citizens at *Hampton-Court*, where divers of the Aldermen had the honour of Knighthood.

December 2. The King ſummons both Houſes together, and tells them, *That he had ſtaid in* Scotland *longer than he expected, yet not fruitleſly, for he had given full ſatisfaction to that Nation; but cannot chuſe but take notice of, and wonder at, the unexpected Diſtractions he finds at home*; and then commends to them the State of *Ireland*: next he publiſhes a Proclamation *for Obedience to the Laws, in force concerning Religion, and the performance of Divine Service without Innovation or Aboliſhing of Rites and Ceremonies.* *January* 20, His Majeſty makes another Speech to them, and Conjures them by all that is dear to him or them, to haſten the buſineſs of *Ireland*. After which the Commons ordered a Select Committee to draw up a Petition, and Remonſtrance to the King; the Petition was thus:

Moſt Gracious Soveraign, your Majeſties moſt humble and faithful Subjects the Commons *in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, do with joy acknowledge the Favour of God in your ſafe return into* England, *where the dangers and diſtempers of the State have cauſed them to deſire your Preſence and Authority to your Parliament, for preventing of imminent Ruin and Deſtruction to your Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland, *fo-*

mented by a malignant party, for alteration of Religion and and Government, the increaſe of Popery by the Practices of Jeſuites, *and other Engineers and Factors of* Rome, *corrupting the Biſhops and Privy Council; they being the cauſe of the late* Scottiſh War, and the Iriſh *Rebellion: Now for prevention they pray, That your Majeſty would concur with your Parliament to deprive the Biſhops of their Votes, To take away Oppreſſion in Religion, Church-Government, and Diſcipline, To purge your Councils of ſuch as are Promoters of theſe Corruptions, and not alienate any Eſcheated Lands in* Ireland *by reaſon of the Rebellion! and theſe being granted, we will make you happy.*

This was followed by a large Remonſtrance containing all the Miſcarriages and Misfortunes (which they termed Preſſures) ſince the beginning of his Majeſties Reign, As 1 'The root and ground of theſe dangers. 2. Their 'Maturity and Ripeneſs. 3. The effectual means uſed 'for their Extirpation, and the progreſs therein made: '4. The Obſtructions and Oppoſitions interrupting. 5. 'The beſt means for removing theſe Obſtacles, and for 'accompliſhing the *Parliaments* good Intentions, for 'reſtoring this Nation to its Ancient Renown. The 'Actors and *Promoters* of theſe Evils, were deſcribed to 'be, 1. The *Jeſuited Papiſts*. 2. The Biſhops, and cor- 'rupted Clergy. 3. Intereſted Counſellors, and Cour- 'tiers. The root of the miſchief was, the Malignant 'Party, whoſe Practices were branched into four par- 'ticulars: 1. To foment differences and diſcontents be- 'tween the King and People about Prerogative and Pri- 'viledge, for their own Advantages. 2. To ſuppreſs 'the purity and power of Religion. 3. To Unite and 'Conjoyn *Papiſts*, *Arminians* and *Libertines*, and out of 'them all to compoſe a Body ſufficient to carry on their 'Deſigns. And 4. To diſaffect the King to the Parliament, 'by Slanders & by putting him upon other ways of Supply 'than by Parliament; & that the Intentions of theſe Malig- 'nants were to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws and *Princi-* 'ples of Government: They then charge this Malignant 'Party more particularly; as chiefly occaſioning the Diſſo- 'lution of three ſeveral Parliaments without Relief of

'Grie-

'Grievances. The Imprisoning & Fining several of the Mem-
'bers, raising great Sums of Money by Loan, Privy Seals
'and Excise, and blasting *The Petition of Right*, The suc-
'cessless Attempts upon *France* and *Spain*, and Peace
'made with the *Spaniard* without consent of Parliament:
'The loss of *Rochel* occasioned by lending part of our
'Fleet to the *French* King, deserting the cause of the
'*Palatinate*, charging the Kingdom with Billeting Soul-
'diers, and the Design of bringing in *German* Horse to in-
'slave this Nation to Arbitrary Contributions: Lastly,
'they reflect upon Scandalous Declarations published a-
'gainst the Parliament, upon Injustice, Oppression, Vio-
'lence, Illegal Inlargements of Forrests, Coat, and Con-
'duct Money, Corrupt Councils and Designs, Projects,
'Monopolies, Illegal Proceedings in Courts of Judica-
'ture, and Council Table; charging the Bishops likewise
'with many Enormities, particularly for contributing
'to raise an Army for constraining the *Scots* to conform
'to their Superstitious Ceremonies; concluding with
'what they have done for the Reformation of these Abuses.

To their Petition the King returned this Answer, *That he knows not any Wicked or Malignant Persons whom he doth either contenance or imploy; That he would concur with his People in a Parliamentary way against all* Popish *Designs, but would not consent to deprive the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament: That he judged the power of the Clergy sufficiently moderated by taking away the High Commission Court, and needing no further Abridgment; That he was willing to concur with them for removal of any Innovations in Religion by a National Synod; That he had no Councillors nor Ministers of State whom he would not at any time expose to Trial, and leave to the Law, but cannot agree that any others should have the choice of them but himself; That he concurs with them for not altering the Forfeited Lands in* Ireland, *but thinks it not reasonable to resolve, before the Event of War be seen; and doubts not of their Loyal Endeavours for the support of his Royal State.*

In Answer to the Remonstrance, the King Issues out a Declaration to his Subjects, the Sum of which was, *That he thought he had given sufficient satisfaction to his Peoples Fears*

and Jealouſies, concerning Religion, Liberty, and Civil Intereſts, by the Bills which he hath paſſed this Parliament; deſiring that miſunderſtandings might be removed on either ſide, and that the bleeding Condition of Ireland *might perſwade them to Unity, for the relief of that unhappy Kingdom.*

Not long after happened the Inſolent Tumults of the *Lon.* Apprentices, who in a riotous manner went to *White-Hall* and *Weſtminſter*, to the great diſturbance of the King; who thereupon commanded the Lord Mayor and Common Council to keep a double Watch and Guard, for preventing miſchief; and *Dec.* 28. The King ſends a Meſſage to the Lords, *That he would raiſe Ten Thouſand Volunteers for* Ireland, *if the Commons would undertake to pay them*: On New-years day a Proclamation was publiſhed againſt the *Iriſh*, declaring *Thoſe that were in Arms, with all their Adherents and Abettors, to be Rebels and Traytors*: Two days after, the King upon Information that the L. *Kimbolton*, and Five of the Houſe of Commons, *viz.* Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hamden* and Mr. *Stroud*, had Correſpondence with the *Scots*, and countenanced the late City Tumults. He thereupon ordered their Trunks, Studies, and Chambers to be ſealed up, and their Perſons ſeized; the former of which was done, but having timely notice they went aſide; upon which the Comons voted the ſame day, *That if any perſons ſhould attempt to Seize the* Perſons *or* Papers *of any* Parliament *Men, ſuch Members ſhall require the Aid of the Conſtable to ſecure ſuch Perſons till further Order of the Houſe; and that it is lawful for any perſon to Aſſiſt the ſaid Members, and that the ſaid Members may ſtand upon their Guard, and make reſiſtance according to the Proteſtation for defence of the Priviledges of* Parliament.

Hereupon the King charges the L. *Kimbolton* and the 5 Members with ſeveral Articles, and Acquaints both Houſes, *That he did intend to proſecute them for High Treaſon, and required that their Perſons might be ſecured*: And the next day the King Attended with his Guard of Penſioners, and ſome Hundreds of Gentlemen, went to the Houſe of Commons, and the Guard ſtaying without, the King with the *Palſgrave* entred the Houſe, at whoſe entrance

trance the Speaker riſes out of the Chair, and the King ſitting down therein, Views the Houſes round, and perceives the Birds he aimed at were flown, for having warning, they had withdrawn into *London*; whereupon he tells them, *That he came to look for thoſe 5 Members whom he had accuſed of High Treaſon, and was reſolved to have them wherever he found them; and expected to have them ſent to him as ſoon as they ſhould come to the Houſe; but would not have them think that this Act of his was any Violation of* Parliament.

This Act of the King was ſo highly reſented by the houſe, that the next day *January* 5. the Commons Voted it a Breach of Priviledge, and Scandals were raiſed in the City, that he intended Violence againſt the Houſe of Commons, and came thither with force to Murther ſeveral Members and uſed threatning Speeches againſt the Parliament; with which the City was ſo poſſeſſed, That unuſual Guards and Watches were ſet, as if ſome deſperate Aſſault were to be made upon the City, and the Houſes Adjourned till the Tueſday following, appointing a Commitee in the mean time to ſit at *Guild-hall* to conſider of the moſt Effectual Means for their Security. And then they publiſh a Declaration, *That whoſoever ſhall Arreſt any Member of Parliament by Warrant from the King only, is Guilty of the Breach of* Priviledges of Parliament; *and likewiſe that all thoſe who attended the King when he came to demand the 5 Members were Guilty of a Traiterous Deſign againſt the King and* Parliament, *That the* Proclamation *for Apprehending and Impriſoning the ſaid Members, was Falſe, Scandalous, and Illegal, and not of Validity enough to hinder them from attending the Houſe; and that the publiſhing of the ſeveral Articles of High Treaſon was a Breach of* Priviledge; *wherefore they intreat his Majeſty, to diſcover the Names of thoſe Informers and Evil Councillors declaring all ſuch Perſons to be publick Enemies to the State.*

In the mean time the *Londoners* came thronging to *Weſtminſter* with Petitions, inveighing bitterly againſt ſome of the Peers, but eſpecially the Biſhops, whom they affronted as they went to the Houſe; upon which they were ſo affrighted, that Twelve Biſhops abſent themſelves from

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from the House of Lords, drawing up a Protestation against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which had passed, or should pass, during their forced Absence; desiring their Protestation might be entred by the Clerk of the House of Peers. Presently after which at a Conference between both Houses, it was agreed, *That this Protestation of the Twelve Bishops, did extend to the deep intrenching upon the fundamental Priviledges and Being of Parliaments*; and in a short time they were accused of High Treason, seized and brought on their knees at the Lords Bar: Ten of them were committed to the *Tower*, and the other two, in regard of their Age, to the Black Rod.

The King at this time, thinking himself unsafe without a Guard, accepted of the offer of some Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court* to be a Guard to him, which instead of security, was by subtil men made more prejudicial to the King, by taking this occasion, to raise the rage and jealousie of the City against him; for at midnight there were crys made in the Streets of *London*, *That all People should rise to their Defence, for the King, with his Papists, were coming to fire the City, and cut their Throats in their Beds*; than which, though nothing were more false, yet it found the effects of truth; and the People by such Alarms, being terrified from sleep, the impressions of those night fears lay long upon their Spirits in the day, and filled them almost with madness; of which the King complained to the Common Council of *London*.

But the House of Commons, to obviate this, upon suspicion of some design upon their persons, petition the King for a Guard, to be commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, of whose fidelity to the King and State, no question was ever made. This Petition was denied by the King, as not willing to have them too strong, yet promised to take such care for their security from Violence, as he would for the preservation of Himself and Children; and if this general Assurance would not suffice to remove those Apprehensions, he would command such a Guard

to

to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God.

This Answer being unsatisfactory, the City joyn with them and in their Common Council drew up a Petition, complaining, *That the Trade of the City was decayed, to the utter Ruin of the* Protestant Religion, *and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects, by the Design of* Papists, Foreigners and Domesticks *(more particularly their fomenting the Irish Rebellion) by changing the Constable of the Tower, and making preparation there, by the fortifying of* White-Hall, *and His Majesties late Invasion of the House of Commons.* Whereupon they pray, *That by the Parliaments Advice the Protestants in* Ireland *may be relieved, The Tower to be put into the hands of Persons of Trust, a Guard appointed for the safety of the Parliament; and that the Five Members may not be restrained nor proceeded against but by the Priviledges of Parliament.* And besides this, the King riding into *London*, the Citizens in multitudes flocked about his Coach, beseeching him, *To agree with his Parliament, and not to violate their Priviledges.*

To their Petition the King returned Answer, *That he could not express a greater sense of* Ireland *than he had done; That meerly to satisfie the City, he had removed a worthy Person from the charge of the* Tower; *and that the Tumults had caused him to fortifie* White-Hall, *for the security of his own Person, That his going to the House of Commons was to apprehend those five Members for Treason, to which the Priviledges of Parliament could not extend; and that yet he would proceed against them no otherwise than legally.*

And now such numbers of ordinary People dayly gathered about *Westminster* and *White-hall*, that the King doubting of their Intentions thought fit to with draw to *Hampton-Court*, taking with him the Queen, Prince, and Duke of *York*; where he and his Retinue and Guard quickly increased, by accession of divers of the Gentry. But the next day the Five Members were triumphantly guarded to *Westminister* by a great number of Citizens and Sea-men, with hundreds of Boats and Barges, with Guns in them, shouting and hollowing as they passed by

by *Whitehall*, and making large Proteſtations at *Weſtminſter* of their conſtant fidelity and adherence to the Parliament. About this time the Parliament had notice the Lord *Digby* and Collonel *Lunsford* were raiſing Troops of Horſe at *Kingſton*, where the County Magazine was lodged; whereupon they order, *That the County Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, and the Trained Bands, ſhall take care to ſecure the Countries and their Magazine, and ſuppreſs all unlawful Aſſemblies. Lunsford* was ſeized and ſent to the *Tower*, but *Digby* eſcaped beyond Sea. The King removed to *Royſton*, at which time Sir *Edward Harbert* Attorney General, is queſtioned at the Lords Bar, to anſwer concerning the Articles againſt the Five Members; where it had gone hard with him, if the King (at his earneſt Supplication) had not taken him off by a Letter to the Lord Keeper *Littleton* (who ſucceeded L. *Finch*) wherein the King clears the Attorney General, and takes the whole buſineſs upon himſelf, yet concludes, *That finding cauſe wholly to deſiſt from proceeding againſt the Perſons Accuſed, he had commanded his Attorney General to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor diſcover any proof concerning the ſame:* And ſo this Breach between the King and Parliament, ſeemed at preſent to be made up.

At this time the *Scots* having a conſiderable Intereſt in their *Britiſh* Plantations in *Ireland*, make propoſals for Tranſporting 2500 Souldiers thither, which were accepted by both Houſes, and afterward conſented to by the King: after which the *Scotch* Commiſſioners interpoſed their Mediation for compoſing the differences between the King and Parliament, which were now grown to too great an height, for which Mr. *Pym* was ordered by the Commons to give them the thanks of the Houſe.

January 20, The King ſends a Meſſage to the Parliament, propoſing the ſecurity of his own juſt Rights and Royal Authority, and *That ſince particular Grievances and Diſtractions were too many, and would be too great to be preſented by themſelves, that they would comprize and digeſt them into one entire body, and ſend them to him; and it ſhould then appear how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greateſt Examples*

of the moſt Indulgent Princes, in their Acts of Grace, and Favour to the People.

After this the Commons move the Lords to joyn with them in Petitioning for the *Militia* and the Command of the *Tower*, but they not complying, the Houſe of Commons ſingly of themſelves, Importune the King to put thoſe things into the hands of the Parliament, as the only available means for removal of their Fears and Jealouſies. But the King, not willing to part with the Principal Jewels of his Crown, ſignified to them, *That he thought the* Militia *to be lawfully ſubject to no command but his own, and therefore would not let it out of his hands, That he had preferred to the Lieutenancy of the* Tower, *a Perſon of known Fortune and unqueſtionable Reputation, and that he would prefer none but ſuch to the command of his Forts and Caſtles; yet would not intruſt the power of conferring thoſe Places and Dignities from himſelf; being derived to him from his Anceſtors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom:* Yet the Commons would not deſiſt, but again petitioned, and were again refuſed.

Soon after divers Petitions were delivered to the Parliament againſt the Votes of Popiſh Lords and Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, as one from *Suffolk* with 1500, and another from the *Londoners* with 2000 hands, and a Third from the City Dames; To all which were Anſwered, *That the Commons had already endeavoured Relief from the Lords in their Requeſts, and ſhould ſo continue till Redreſs were obtained.* And ſhortly after, the Lords paſſed the Bill *For diſabling all Perſons in Holy Orders, to have any Place or Vote in Parliament, or to exerciſe any Temporal Juriſdiction*; At the ſame time they petition the King again for the *Militia*, and for clearing *Kimbolton* and the Five Members, by his Anſwer to both which they underſtood his Reſolution, *Not to intruſt the* Militia *out of himſelf, nor to clear the Members but only by a General Pardon*; which was unſatisfactory.

The King now at *Hampton Court*, thought fit to ſend for all his Domeſtick Servants of either Houſe of Parliament, and particularly the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Holland*, but

but they refused to come, excusing themselves with *The necessity of performing their duties in Parliament, and discharging the Trust reposed in them:* For which they were put from their Places at Court.

The Lord *Digby* about this time sent Three Letters from *Middleburgh* in *Zealand* (where he was fled out of *England*) one to the Queen, and two others to Secretary *Nicholas*, and Sir *Lewis Dives*; signifying, *That if the King would openly declare his mind, and betake himself to some place of security, that he might come freely to him, he doubted not but he should do him some acceptable Service:* These Letters were intercepted by the Parliament, and by them after perusal sent to the King, with their Intreaties to him, *That he would perswade the Queen not to correspond with* Digby *or any other whom his* Great Council *had proclaimed* Traytors.

There was a Report that the Parliament intended to Accuse the Queen of High-Treason, as one that had so much power with the King to misadvise him; this rumour the Parliament excused, as a publick Scandal upon them; which she seemed satisfied with, yet provides against the danger, and therefore prevails with the King to accompany her Daughter *Mary* Princess of *Orange* into *Holland*, carrying with her all the Kings and her own Jewels, together with those entailed upon the Crown; intending with those, and some other Assistance, to raise a Party sufficient to maintain the King and his Regalities against the Parliament.

In the mean time Mr *Pym* at a Conference complaining of the General flocking of Papists into *Ireland*, affirmed, *That since the Lieutenant had ordered a stop upon the Ports against all* Irish *Papists, many of the Chief Commanders, now in the head of the Rebels, had been licensed to pass thither by his Majesties immediate Warrant.* The King was highly offended at this Speech, which he signified to the House, who in their Answer to his Message, justifie Mr. *Pym*'s words to be the sense of the House, and *That they had yet in safe Custody the Lord* Delvin, *Sir* George Hamilton, *Colonel* Butler, Brother to the Lord *Miniard*, now in

in Rebellion, and one of the Lord *Nettervils* Sons: To which the King replies, *That he thought Mr.* Pyms *Speech was not so well grounded as it ought to have been, and that the aforementioned Persons had their Passes granted before he knew of the Parliaments Order of Restraint; and therefore expected their Declaration for his Vindication from that odious calumny of conniving, or underhand favouring that abhorred Irish Rebellion.*

But this His Majesties desire proved fruitless, for they next moved the King to turn out Sir *John Byron* out of the Lieutenancy of the *Tower*, and at their Nomination Sir *John Conyers* succeeded; they then proceeded to name fit Persons for trust of the *Militia* of the several Counties, and by Act of Parliament *Disabled all Clergy-men from exercising Temporal Jurisdiction:* After which the King by a Message offers them, *To require by Proclamation all Statutes concerning* Popish *Recusants to be put in Execution. That the seven Condemned Popish Priests shall be Banished, and all Romish Priests within twenty days shall depart the Kingdom; That he refers the consideration of Church Government and Liturgy wholly to the Houses, and offers to go himself in Person against the Rebels in* Ireland.

But the Commons were now busie about a Petition for Vindicating their Five Members, wherein they desire the King to send them the Informers against the said Members, or otherwise to desert their Prosecution would not suffice; because the whole Parliament was concerned in the Charge. And then they proceeded to settle the *Militia* for the defence of the Parliament, Tower, and City of *London*, under the Command of Serjeant Major General *Skippon* who had formerly been an Experienced Souldier in the *Low-Countries*: The King had deferred his Answer to their Petition for settling the *Militia* of the Counties, according to their nomination, till his return from *Dover*, where he took leave of his Wife and Daughter, and so returned to *Greenwich*; from whence he sent to *Hampton Court* for his two Eldest Sons to come to him, though contrary to the mind of the Parliament, who would have dissuaded him from it.

And now the Parliament thought fit to consider of the

the reducing of *Ireland*, and ordered two Millions and an half of thoſe Acres to be Confiſcate, of Rebels Lands in Four Provinces ſhall be allotted to ſuch Perſons, as will diſburſe Mony for carrying on that War, and ſeveral other Proviſions were made for their Security, which the King confirms *Feb.* 26. 1641; and in purſuance thereof a conſiderable Sum of Money was raiſed, the People being generally free in their Contributions.

The King being now at *Greenwich*, ſends this Anſwer to the Petition about the *Militia*, *That he is willing to condeſcend to all the* Propoſals *concerning the* Militia *of the Counties, and the Perſons mentioned, but not of* London, *and other Corporations, whoſe Government in that particular, he thought it neither Juſtice nor* Policy *to alter; but would not conſent to diveſt himſelf of the power of the County* Militia *for an indefinite time, but for ſome limited ſpace.* This Anſwer did not ſatisfie, ſo that the Breach growing daily wider, the King declined theſe parts and the Parliament, and removed to *Theobalds*, taking with him, the Prince, and the D. of *York*.

About the beginning of *March* he receives a Petition from the Parliament, wherein they require the *Militia* more reſolutely than before, affirming, *That in caſe of denial, the imminent dangers would conſtrain them to diſpoſe of it by Authority of* Parliament; *deſiring alſo that he would make his abode near* London *and the* Parliament, *and continue the* Prince *at ſome of his Houſes near the City, for the better carrying on of Affairs and preventing the Peoples Jealouſies and Fears*; All which being refuſed, They preſently Order, *That the Kingdom be put into a poſture of Defence in ſuch a way as was agreed upon by Parliament and a* Committee *to prepare a publick Declaration, from theſe two Heads,* 1. *The juſt Cauſes of the Fears and Jealouſies given to the Parliament, at the ſame time clearing themſelves from any Jealouſies conceived againſt himſelf.* 2. *To conſider of all matters ariſing from his Majeſties Meſſage, and what was fit to be done.*

And now began our Troubles, and all the Miſeries of a Civil War; the Parliament every day entertaining (or pretending to entertain) new Jealouſies and Suſpicions

cions of the Kings Actions, which howſoever in compliment they made ſhew of imputing only to his Evil Council yet obliquely had too great a Reflection upon his Perſon. They now proceed on a ſudden to make great preparations both by Sea and Land; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, Admiral of *England*, is commanded to rig the Kings Ships and fit them for Sea; and likewiſe all Maſters and Owners of Ships were perſwaded to do the like. The Beacons were repaired, Sea-marks ſet up, and extraordinary poſting up and down with Pacquets; all ſad Prognoſticks of the Calamities enſuing.

The King being now at *Royſton*, *March* 9, the Earls of *Pembrook* and *Holland* bring him the Parliaments Declaration, and read it to him; wherein they repreſent to him ſome former miſcarriages: *As the attempts to incenſe the late* Northern *Army againſt the Parliament, The* Scottiſh *Troubles, L.* Jermins *Treaſon and Tranſportation by the Kings Warrant, The Petition delivered to Captain* Leg, *with the Kings own hand, with the Direction ſigned* C. R. *The buſineſs of the Lord* Kimbolton *and the five Members. The ſuſpicious deſigning a Guard about his Perſon, and underhand promoting the* Iriſh *Rebellion. The ordering Sir* John Pennington *to land the Lord* Digby *beyond Sea; from thence to alienate the King from his Parliament, and to procure Forreign Forces for his Aſſiſtance; which now (ſaid they) appeared more credible by reaſon of his removal with the Prince, and the manifold Advertiſements from* Rome, Venice, Paris, *and other parts, certifying that the Popes* Nuncio *had ſollicited the Kings of* France *and* Spain, *to lend his Majeſty* 4000 *Men apiece in reference to ſome Deſign againſt Religion and the Parliament; and laſtly, They deſire him to turn away his wicked Councillors, and to rely upon his* Parliament, *which if he would do, they would ſacrifice their Lives, Fortunes, and utmoſt endeavours to the Supportation of his Soveraignty.*

After the reading of the Declaration, the Lords would have perſwaded the King to come near the Parliament, and to grant the *Militia* for a time; which his Majeſty refuſed, and told them in ſhort, *That their Fears, and Doubts and Jealouſies were ſuch as he would take time to*

ſatisfie

ſatisfie the whole World of; but that his own doubts were not Trivial, occaſioned by ſo many Scandalous Pamphlets, and Seditious Sermons; divers publick Tumults hitherto uninquired into, and unpuniſhed; and ſome time after the King publiſhed a Declaration to the People, in Anſwer to theirs; the ſum of which was:

'That he had no evil Counſellors about him, but leaves 'ſuch to their cenſure where they ſhould find them. That 'he deſired the Judgments of Heaven might be manifeſt 'upon thoſe who had any deſign againſt the *Proteſtant* 'Profeſſion. That the *Scottiſh* Troubles were buried in 'perpetual ſilence, by the *Act of Oblivion*, & paſſed in the 'Parliaments of both Kingdoms. That they charging him 'with any inclining to the *Iriſh* Rebels, was a high and 'cauſleſs injury to his Royal Reputation. That he ne-'ver intended to exaſperate the late Army, or in any 'wiſe to uſe them againſt the Parliament. That Captain '*Leg's* Petition was brought to him, ſubſcribed by the 'Officers of the Army, deſiring that the Parliament might 'not be hindred from reforming the Church and State 'to the Model of Queen *Elizabeths* days; and was advanta-'geous to them: And to aſſure Sir *Jacob Aſhly* of his O-'pinion therein, he writ *C. R.* That the Lord *Digby* and 'Mr. *Jermin*, neither were at *Whitehal*, nor had any War-'rant from him after the Reſtraint. That he had given 'ſufficient Anſwer about *Kingbolton* and the five Mem-'bers. That the care of his own ſafety cauſed him to raiſe 'a Guard at *Whitehall*, and to receive the Loyal Tender, 'which the Gentlemen of the *Inns of Courts* did make 'him of their Service. And that he looked upon their 'Forreign Advertiſements, by them mentioned, as meer-'ly wild and irrational.

The King goes further *Northward*, whilſt the Parliament Voted the Ordinance for Defence of the Kingdom not to be prejudicial to the Oath of *Allegiance*, but to be obeyed as the Fundamental Laws; and that the Kings Commands for Lieutenancy over the ſeveral Counties were illegal and void; but he coming to *Huntington* ſends them a Meſſage *March* 15. *That he intends to make his Reſidence*

ſidence at York, *and deſires them to haſten their Succours for* Ireland, *and not upon any pretence of Order or Ordinance* (*to which he is not a Party*) *of the* Militia, *or any other thing, to Do or Execute againſt the Laws, which he himſelf was to keep, and his Subjects to obey, declaring his Subjects not to be obliged to obey any Act, Order, or Injunction to which he hath not given conſent*: In Anſwer to which, they reſolv'd; *That the abſence of the King ſo far from his Parliament, was deſtructive to the Relief of* Ireland; *and therefore all thoſe Counſellers which adviſed him to it, are to be ſuſpected as Favourers of that bloody Rebellion, as likewiſe theſe who perſwaded his Majeſty to queſtion or contradict their Votes, which was a high breach of Priviledge of Parliament.*

March, 16. The King at *Stamford* publiſhed a Proclamation for putting the Laws in Execution againſt *Popiſh* Recuſants; and from thence he goes to *York*, and there *March* 24, Repeals his Grant for paſſing the *Bill againſt Tunnage and Poundage*, of *June* 22 laſt paſt, commanding the payment thereof for the future, according to the Act of the Firſt of King *James*; and ſo this year ended.

It was now the year 1642. and the 18th. of his Majeſties Reign, when a freſh Difference aroſe; for the Earl of *Northumberland*, Admiral of *England*. being indiſpoſed, the King ordered Sir *John Pennington*, Vice Admiral, to take the charge of the Summer Fleet for the Narrow Seas; but the Parliament earneſtly deſired that it might be conferred upon the Earl of *Warwick*, but were refuſed by the King to their great diſtaſte. During the Aſſizes at *York*, the Gentry, Miniſters, and Freeholders of that County, preſented a Petition to the King, to endeavour an Agreement with the Parliament, who adviſes them to apply themſelves to the Parliament, for the good of all. And next day he ſends a Meſſage to the Houſes, 'That he intended to raiſe his Guard 'out of the Counties near *Cheſter*, Two thouſand Foot, 'and Two hundred Horſe, to be ſupplied with Arms 'from the Magazine at *Hull*, upon taking the Oaths of 'Supremacy and Allegiance, That if the Parliaments

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'Undertaking for the *Iriſh* War, would not ſuffice to de-'fray the Charges of raiſing and paying them, he would 'pawn or ſell his Land or Houſes; deſiring them withal, 'to quicken their Levies for *Munſter*, and *Connaught*, as the '*Scots* already did theirs of *Ulſter*; and offers his Perſon 'againſt the Rebels.

The Parliament having for ſome time miſtruſted the Kings going *North*, to be intended for ſeizing the Magazine at *Hull*, endeavoured to prevent it, declaring their ſuſpicion of his deſign to raiſe an Army, and therefore 'pray, 'That it might be removed from thence to the '*Tower* of *London*, as a place of more ſafety, and eaſier 'tranſport for *Ireland*; and that the Reprieve for the Po-'piſh Prieſts in *Newgate* may be recalled, and they exe-cuted. And to make all ſure, Sir *John Hotham*, a Mem-ber of the Houſe of Commons, is ſent down to take up-on him the Government of that place, who by his ſud-den coming thither, prevented the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, who was deſigned by the King to be Governor thereof; ſo that when the King came to *Hull* in Perſon, with his Guard conſiſting of Lords and Gentlemen, *April* 23. 1642. he finds the Gates ſhut upon him, and the Bridges drawn up; but from the Wall *Hotham* appears, and up-on his knees intreats his Majeſty, *Not to command that, whichwithout the breach of his Truſt, he could not yield obedience to.*

Whereupon the King finding his entrance prevented, cauſed *Hotham* inſtantly to be proclaimed Traytor; and by Letters to the Parliament, complained of that Indig-nity, and required ſatisfaction; but they juſtified him therein, and ſent a Committee of the Lords and Com-mons to reſide there, for the better ſecuring the Garriſon to them, and gave the Governor power to raiſe the Train-ed Bands for his defence; after which the King hearing that the Parliament had raiſed a Guard of themſelves without his conſent; and reflecting upon the buſineſs of *Hotham*, he ſummoned the Gentry of *Yorkſhire* to a Meeting, and acquainted them, 'That his Magazine at '*Hull* was going to be taken from him againſt his will, 'the *Militia* againſt the Law and his conſent, put in exe-'cuti-

'cution, and Sir *John Hothams* Treaſon countenanced, ſo 'that he was reſolved to have a Guard to ſecure his per-'ſon, in which he deſired their aſſiſtance, that he might 'be able to protect them, the Laws, and the true Prote-'ſtant Religion, from violation or injury.'

The King had hereby indifferently ſtrengthened himſelf, and more had come in had not thoſe Members of Parliament, who came to the King at *York*, prevailed with ſome of the Free-holders to proteſt againſt it. And the Parliament declare, 'That the Subjects unleſs bound 'to it by ſpecial Service, could not be command-'ed to attend the King at his pleaſure, without tranſ-'greſſing againſt the Laws and Liberties of the King-'dom. And that whoſoever upon pretence of his 'Majeſties Command, ſhall take up Arms in a warlike 'manner, ſhall be eſteemed diſturbers of the Peace, 'and to be proceeded againſt accordingly.

In the mean while Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, who had been Recorder of *London* for ſix years, being Impeached by the Parliament, and in danger of hanging, was glad to ſhift for himſelf, and by flight eſcaped to the King; at which time his Majeſty endeavoured to have removed the Term from *London* to *York*, but was much oppoſed therein by the Parliament, who Voted it Illegal, and forbid the L. Keeper to iſſue out Writs, or Seal any Proclamation to that purpoſe. The Parliament now proceed to put the people into a *Military* poſture, requiring all Perſons in Authority to put the late ordinance of the *Militia* in Execution, which the King by his *Proclamation* forbids; but for the *Peoples* ſatisfaction the *Parliament* publiſh'd a ſevere Declaration to the ſame Effect as their former Remonſtrance; only this was added, 'That 'the King at his being in *Scotland* had countenanced the '*Iriſh* in their Rebellious Deſigns, and that his conni-'vance was manifeſted by his tedious with-holding 'the Proclamation whereby they were declared 'Traytors till *Jan.* 2. being almoſt a Quarter of a 'Year after the breaking out of the Rebellion, and then 'had appointed but forty Copies to be printed, and none

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'of them to be published without his pleasure signified; 'whereas his Proclamations against the *Scots* had been 'dispersed throughout all the Kingdom with publick 'Prayers and Execrations.

The King makes a speedy Answer hereunto, not much differing from what he had said before; yet tells them, 'That as to the business of the *Irish*, his Council in *Ire-* 'land had desired them no sooner, nor so many Copies 'by twenty as he had Signed and sent them. His Ma- 'jesty had written a Letter to his Privy Council of *Scot.* 'to take away from them all suspicion of those Impura- tions so frequently laid to his Charge of being *Popishly* 'affected, to be guilty of the bloodshed in *Ireland*, and 'to bring in Forreign Forces; Wherewith they seemed 'so satisfied, that they returned a most respectful Answer, and presently interposed their Mediation to heal the Breach before it grew wider; humbly desiring the King *to hearken to his Parliament, as his greatest, his best, and most unparralel'd Council; and discouraging him from any personal Journey into* Ireland. This Message was sent by the Earl of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, and after this the *Scots* Petition to the Kings Privy Council there, *Not to meddle with any verbal or real Engagement for the King against the Parliament.* Hereupon the *English* Parliament publish a Protestation, wherein they vindicate their own proceedings: and declare the great sense they had of the Affection of their *Scottish* Brethren manifested unto them in so many particulars, and more especially the mentioned Petition.

The Earl of *Bristol*, an Old Experienced Statesman, prudently foresaw that such unhappy beginnings must necessarily have a very bad Issue, and therefore earnestly endeavoured an Accommodation by stating the Case in the House of Lords; representing the Offers of the King on the one side, and the Professions of the Parliament on the other; and likewise the dreadful Effects of a Civil War (then likely to ensue) by the Example of the woful Desolations in *Germany*, and the expensive Troubles in *Scotland*; and then proposes some methods for preven-

preventing these dangers: as 1. 'That a select Committee of Parliament should truly state the matters indifference, with the most probable ways of reconciling them. '2. To consider particularly what may be expected, either in point of supporting the King, or relieving his 'People: And lastly, how the Conditions agreed upon, 'may be secured. And to shew the necessity of this course; 'he discovers the deplorable State of *Ireland*, the debts 'and necessities of the Crown, the distractions which 'were likely to produce confusion of Religion, most dangerous and destructive to a State, besides the general 'Distraction of the Subjects, who between Commands, 'and Countermands, knew not whom to obey. This was admitted as good and solid Reason, but Divine Justice would not so permit the Sins of the *English* Nation to go unpunished, and the L. *Bristols* Speech, though well received, yet proved ineffectual.

In the mean time the Kings Guard increases at *York*, which the House Voted a preparation for War against the Parliament, a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, and that all such as serve him there are Traitors to the Laws of the Kingdom, as the Act of 11 *Rich*. 2. & the 1 *Hen*. 3. This was followed by another Declaration or Remonstrance of the misactions of the King, and their own Priviledges, which the King answers and they again reply to; and *May* 28. the Parliament ordain, That all Sheriffs, Justices, *&c*. make stay of all Arms and Ammunition going to the King at *York*; the King on the other side forbids all Persons belonging to the Trained Bands or *Militia* of the Kingdom, to obey any Order, or Ordinance of any of the Houses; divers Members of both Houses withdrew themselves to the King, as being unsatisfied with their proceedings; whereupon the Parliament Ordered, That all such as did not make their Personal Appearance by *June* 16 ensuing, should be fined an 100 pounds towards the *Irish* Wars, such only excepted as were imployed by the Parliament.

They likewise understood that the Queen had pawned the Crown Jewels in *Holland* for Money to be transported

ported to the King; which to prevent him of, they order, *That whoever hath, or shall pay, lend, send, or bring any Money in* Specie *into this Kingdom, for, or upon those Jewels; or accept of any Bill hereafter, shall be an Enemy to the State*

June 2. The Parliament sent to the King Nineteen Propositions: 1. 'That all the Kings *Privy* Council, great 'Officers, and Ministers of State, may be put out, except 'such as the *Parliament* shall approve; and that an Oath 'be tendered them. 2. That all Affairs of *State* be mana-'ged by the *Parliament*, except such matters as are trans-'ferr'd by them to the *Privy* Council, and to be con-'cluded by the major part of the Nobility under their 'hands, the full number not to exceed twenty 'five, nor to be under Fifteen. If any place shall 'fall Void in the interval of Parliament, then that 'the major part of the Council chuse one to be confirmed 'at the next Sessions of Parliament, 3. That all great Of-'ficers of the Kingdom shall be chosen with Approba-'tion of Parliament. 4. That the Government and E-'ducation of the Kings Children, be by appointment of 'Parliament. 5. That their Marriages be treated and 'concluded by Parliament. 6, That the Laws against 'Papists, Priests, and others, be executed, without To-'leration or Dispensation, except by Parliament. 7. 'That no *Popish* Lord or Peer have Vote in Parliament; 'and their Children be educated in the *Protestant Faith*. '8. That Church Government be reformed as the Par-liament shall advise. 9. That the *Militia* be settled as the Parliament have ordered, and that the King recall all his 'Declarations, published against their Ordinances there-'in. 10. That all *Privy* Councillors and Judges take an 'Oath for the maintenance of *The Petition of Right*, and 'other Statutes, which shall be made this Parliament. 11. 'That all Officers placed by Parliament hold their pla-'ces, *Quam diu bene se gesserint*, as long as they shall act 'justly: 12. That all Members of Parliament put out 'during this time, be restored again. 13. That the 'Justice of Parliament pass upon all Delinquents, and that 'they appear or abide their censure. 14. That the gene-

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'ral Pardon paſs with Exceptions, as the Parliament 'ſhall adviſe. 15. That all Forts and Caſtles of this King-'dom be diſpoſed of by Parliament. 16. That the King 'diſcharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and 'not raiſe any other, but in caſe of actual Rebellion. 17. 'That the King enter into ſtrict Alliance with all *Pro-'teſtant* Kingdoms and States for their Aſſiſtance, to re-'cover the Rights of his Siſter, and her Princely Iſſue, 'to thoſe Dignities and Dominions which belong to 'them. 18. That the Lord *Kimbolton* and the Five Mem-'bers be cleared by *Act of Parliament*. 19. That no Peer 'hereafter to be made, ſhall ſit in Parliament without 'their conſent.

Theſe propoſitions were rejected by the King as inconſiſtent with his Regality: ſo that now Men began to deſpair of any good Iſſue, for both ſides make preparations for War: The King ſending out his *Commiſſions of Array*; and the Parliament publiſhed an Order *June* 10. for bringing in money or Plate to maintain the Horſe, Horſe-men, and Arms, for the publick peace and defence of the King and both Houſes of Parliament; and declared the Kings *Commiſſion* to be againſt the Law, Liberty and property of the Subject; and the Actors therein to be diſturbers of the peace, and Betrayers of the Subjects Liberty. At this time the Lord keeper *Littleton*, having delivered the Great Seal to one *Eliot*, whom the King ſent for it, durſt not ſtay behind for fear of being queſtioned, but went to the King to *York*, as many of the Peers did likewiſe whom the King ſummoning together, as alſo his Privy Council; he declares and proteſts to them, 'That he would not Uſurp any Illegal Au-'thority over them, but is ready to maintain them a-'gainſt all others that would. And that he would defend 'them from all Votes and Orders of Parliament, together 'with the true *Proteſtant* Religion, the lawful Liberty 'of the Subject, and the juſt Priviledges of the Three E-'ſtates of Parliament; nor will he Engage them in any 'War but what ſhall be for the neceſſary defence of his 'and their rights; Whereupon they all ingaged to him

their Duty and Allegiance in a moſt Solemn Proteſtation. After which the King ſent Letters to Sir *Rich. Gurney* L. Mayor, and the Aldermen and Sheriffs of *London*, forbidding them, upon peril of having their Charter queſtioned, to levy Arms or raiſe Money, upon pretence of a Guard to the Parliament, or any other Account, except only the relief of *Ireland*, or the payment of the *Scotch* Subjects.

At this time the King publiſheth a General Declaration, wherein he deſcants upon all the Parliaments Declarations for the laſt 7 Months, but eſpecially the laſt; profeſſing that hence forward he expects they ſhould break out into diſloyal Actions, declaims againſt their making the defence of the King, to be the pretence for their raiſing Forces; proteſts his own conſtant Reſolution for the preſerving of Peace, Religion, the Laws, and Subjects Liberties, and expects all his Subjects to Aſſiſt him againſt the Traiterous Attempts of ſuch Men as would deſtroy his Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate, and bring on a Civil War; engaging that whoſoever ſhall bring to him Money, Ammunition, Horſe, or Arms, ſhall receive Eight Pound *per Cent.* Conſideration, and have good Aſſurance of both Principal and Intereſt, upon his Forreſt Lands, Parks, and Houſes.

After this the King by Proclamation forbids all Levies, of Forces, and all Contributions to ſuch Levies, without his expreſs pleaſure; grounding it upon ſeveral Statutes as 7 *Edw.* 1. 2 *Edw.* 3. And then minds them of their Oath of Allegiance, by which they were bound to be Faithful, not to the King only as King, but to his Perſon, as King *Charles*, contrary to the Parliaments diſtinction, betwixt his Perſon and his Authority; his Perſon at *York*, and his Authority in Parliament; and concludes with juſtifying his *Commiſſions of Array*, which were now iſſued out in ſeveral Counties in *England* and *Wales*; to this the Parliament reply, and the King again to them, which was followed by ſeveral Meſſages to and fro; all which rather exaſperated than allayed the difference; and now began *England* to be divided, as *Italy* once was into

Guelphes

Guelphes and *Gibellines*, ſo they into *Royaliſts* and *Preſbyterians*, or *Cavileers* and *Roundheads*.

After this the King makes a *Progreſs* from *York* into the Counties of *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*, and Summons the Gentlemen and Freeholders to *Newark*; he Careſſes them with the moſt obliging expreſſions imaginable. And *July* 11, 1642. His Majeſty ſends a Meſſage to the *Parliament* to Certifie them of his Intentions to reduce *Hull* by force, if not forthwith delivered to him, which if they ſhould do, he would then admit of their future Addreſſes, and return ſuch *Propoſitions* as might beſt conduce to prevent the approaching War; together with this Meſſage he ſent them likewiſe a Copy of the *Proclamation*, which he had publiſh'd againſt Sir *J. Hotham*, wherein he complains of the Affront done to his *Perſon* by Sir *J.* and of the *Parl.* juſtifying that Action by their Votes and Orders; That *Hotham* having fortified the Town, and drown'd the Countrey, had alſo ſet out a Pinnace at Sea, which had intercepted his *Pacquet* Boat with the Queens Letters, and that the E. of *Warwick* contrary to the Kings Command, had taken upon him the Command of the Fleet; for which Reaſons the King was reſolv'd to puniſh *Hotham*. Indeed the E. of *W.* had been by the *Parl.* commended to the King as the fitteſt man for Admiral (the E. of *North* being then ſick) but he was rejected by the King, who conferr'd that place upon Sir *John Pennington*; Yet afterwards the *Parl.* conceiving it neceſſary to get the Fleet into their hands, they found means, notwithſtanding the Oppoſitions of Sir *J. Pennington* and his Adherents, to make the E. of *W.* Admiral; after which a Ship laden with Arms and Ammunition from *Holland* for the King being ignorant of the matter, fell in among the Fleet, and was by the E. of *Warwick* ſent to the Parliament.

The Parliament now thought fit to Arm, and therefore reſolve that an Army ſhall be raiſed for Defence (as they term it) of King and Parliament; and the Earl of *Eſſex* to be Capt. General, and the E. of *Bedford* to command the Horſe; the E. of *Holland*, Sir *John Holland*, and

Sir *Will. Stapleton*, were ordered to carry a Petition to the King then at *Beverly*, the effect whereof was, *To pray him to disband all his Forces, to recal his* Commissions of Array, *dismiss his Guard, and return to the Parliament:* All which the King refused. The Parliament next consider of raising Money, and so declare for Loan upon the *Publick Faith*; to promote which, the endeavours of the Ministers were very serviceable, whereby in a short time a very considerable quantity of Money, Plate, and Ammunition were brought in.

The King was likewise furnished with Money from the Queen upon the pawned Jewels, and some Contribution from divers Lords and Gentlemen, and the University of *Oxford*. The King goes from *Beverley* to *Leicester*, and there proclaims the Earl of *Stamford* Traitor, for removing the County *Magazine* from the Town to his own House at *Bradgate*. *August* 1. The King comes back to *Yorkshire*, and raises a Regiment under the E. of *Cumberland*, which he called Prince *Charles* his Regiment.

The Parliament on the other side, declare the *Commissioners of Array* to be Traitors and disturbers of the *State* and *Peace* of the Kingdom, and Lieutenants of several Counties were constituted by Parliament. The King likewise deals with their Commanders as they did with his, and proclaimed General *Essex* with all his Collonels and Officers who should not instantly lay down their Arms, to be Rebels and Traitors; and the Marquess of *Hartford* and his Forces are ordered to march against him. The King then Summons in the Country on the *North side* of *Trent*, and 20 miles *Southward*, and publisheth his Grand Declaration concerning all transactions between himself and the Parliament.

August 22. 1642. The King comes to *Nottingham*, and there erects his Standard, to which some numbers resorted, but far short of what was expected; And three days after the King sends a Message to the Parliament to propose a Treaty; the Messengers were the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, Sir *John Culpepper Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and Sir *William Udal*; none of which were suf-

ſuffered to ſit in the Houſe, to deliver their Errand, therefore it was ſent in by the Uſher of the *Black Rod*, to which the Parliament Anſwered, That until His Majeſty ſhall recal his Proclamations, and Declarations of Treaſon againſt the E. of *Eſſex*, and them, and their Adherents: And unleſs the Kings Standard ſet up in purſuance thereof, be taken down, they cannot by the fundamental Priviledges of Parliament, give his Majeſty another Anſwer.

'The King replies, that he never intended to declare 'the Parliament Traitors, or ſet up his Standard againſt 'them; but if they reſolve to Treat, either Party ſhall re-'voke their Declarations againſt all Perſons as Traitors, 'and the ſame day to take down his Standard.

To this they anſwer, That the Differences could not any ways be concluded, unleſs he would forſake his evil Counſellors, and return to his Parliament; And accordingly *Sept. 6.* they Order and Declare, that the Arms which they have, or ſhall take up for the *Parliament*, *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberties* of the Kingdom, ſhall not be laid down until the King withdraw his Protection from ſuch perſons as are or ſhall be Voted Delinquents, and ſhall leave them to Juſtice, that ſo their Eſtates may diſcharge the Debts & Loan Moneys of the Commonwealth.

The War being now begun, the new raiſed Souldiers committed many Outrages upon the Countrey People, which both King and Parliament upon Complaint endeavoured to rectifie: The King himſelf was now *Generaliſſimo* over his own, his Captain General was firſt the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, and afterward the E. of *Lindſey*; and the E. of *Eſſex* for the *Parliamentarians*; The Kings Forces received the firſt repulſe at *Hull* by Sir *John Hotham*, and Sir *John Meldrum*, and the King takes up his Quarters at *Shrewsbury*; *Portſmouth* was next ſurrendred to the Parliament, and preſently after Sir *John Byron* takes *Worceſter* for the King; in *September* the two Prince *Palatines*, *Rupert* and *Maurice* arrived in *England*, who were preſently entertained, and put into Command by the King; who having now got together a potent Army, he

made a ſolemn Proteſtation to them of his candid Intentions, and ſincere meaning, to defend the *Proteſtant Religion*, the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, and Priviledges of Parliament, according to the former proteſtation at *York*.

Sept. 9. The Earl of *Eſſex* in great State attended on by the Parliament ſet forth out of *London* toward St. *Albans*, and from thence to *Northampton*, where all his Forces met, amounting to near fourteen thouſand men, having with him the Parliaments Petition, which he was to preſent to the King, the effect of which was,

That his Loyal Subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament, *cannot without tenderneſs of Compaſſion behold the preſſing Calamities of* England, *and* Ireland, *by the practices of a prevailing* Party *with his Majeſty, to alter true Religion and the Ancient Government of this Kingdom, introducing Superſtition into the Churches, and Confuſion in the State; Exciting, encouraging, and foſtering the Rebellion in* Ireland, *and as there, ſo here begin the like Maſſacres; by drawing on a War againſt the* Parliament, *leading his* Perſon *againſt them, as if by Conqueſt to eſtabliſh an unlimited* Power *over the* People, *ſeeking to bring over the Rebels of* Ireland *to joyn with them: And all theſe evil Counſellors are Defended and protected againſt the Juſtice of the* Parliament, *who have for their juſt Defence of Religion, the Kings Crown and Dignity, the Laws, Liberties and Power of Parliaments, taken up Arms, and Authorized the* E. *of* Eſſex *to be their* Captain General *againſt theſe Rebels and Traytors. And pray the King to withdraw his* Perſon, *and leave them to be ſuppreſt by his* Power, *and to return to his* Parliament, *and that they would receive him with Honour, and yield him Obedience, ſecure his* Perſon. *and eſtabliſh him and his* People *with all the Bleſſings of a Glorious and Happy Reign.*

This Petition was never delivered, though *Eſſex* ſent twice to the King for ſafe conduct for thoſe who were to preſent it; for the King refuſed to receive any Addreſs from thoſe whom he accuſed of High Treaſon, of whom the E. of *Eſſex* was one: The King then marches from *Shrewsbury* toward *London*, upon which the Parliament ordered the Forces of the Aſſociated Counties of *Eſſex*, *Hart-*

Hartford, *Middlesex* and *London* to be ready at an hours warning; They likewise order that the Lands, Rents and Profits of Archbishops and Bishops, shall be Sequestred, as likewise the Kings Fines about Wards.

A while after Collonel *Fines* and *Sands* were routed at *Worcester* by *Prince Rupert*, while they endeavoured to take the Town from Sir *John Byron*, who had it in possession for the King; but *Essex* making his approach with his Army, *Prince Rupert* and *Byron* quitted the Town to him; then were *Gloucester*, *Bristol* and other places made Garrisons for the *Parliament*; But in *Yorkshire* and *Cornwal* the Kings Party grew powerful, and likewise in *Wales*; where the E. of *Worcester* had got together a great number of *Welchmen*, so that the King seeing his Army increased, resolved to march toward *London*, and was gotten one dayes Journey before *Essex*; who perceiving his Error of staying so long at *Worcester* hastens after him, to the relief of his Masters; the King disdaining to be pursued by a Subject, turns back to meet him, and *October* 23, 1642. both *Parties* drew into the Field between *Keinton* and *Edghill* in *Warwickshire*, where on both sides were slain between five and 6000 men that day, but night parting them, the next day both parties quit the Field, the King then marches to *Coventry*, and from thence sends a Proclamation of Pardon to the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, some Persons only excepted. This Battel of *Edghill* was fought on Sunday, the same day twelve Month the *Irish* Rebellion brake out.

The King then takes in *Banbury*, the Town and Castle being surrendred without a blow, and two Regiments of Foot, and a Troop of Horse, took Arms under him; from thence the King marches to *Oxford*; and *Essex* goes to *London*, where he was received with great Honour; The Parliament to recruit their Army, declare; *That all Apprentices who will List themselves, shall be free from their Masters for that time, and shall afterward be received again into service:* By which means abundance were induced to turn Souldiers; they likewise invite the *Scots* to come in to their assistance; which the King by a Let-

ter to the Lords of the Privy Council in *Scotland* endeavours to prevent, but in vain: At this time several of the Lords and Commons present a Petition to the King at *Colebrook*, to desire him to appoint a place to treat in: To which he answered; *He would expect them at his Castle of* Windsor, *and desires them to hasten the Treaty.*

At the same time, the King hearing that *Essex* had drawn his Forces and Ordnance out of *London* toward him, and that unless he gained *Brainford* he would be hemm'd in by the Parliaments Army, who possessed most of the Towns round about him; the King marches thither that night, where part of Col. *Hollis*'s Regiment that quartered there, made a stout resistance, till the L. *Brooks*'s and Coll. *Hambdens* Regiment came in to their relief, who maintained the Fight till night, and then retreated out of Town, which the King presently took possession of, with some Prisoners, Arms and Ammunition, 11 Colours, and 15 pieces of Ordnance: *Essex* hearing this, soon came thither, followed with the City *Militia* and Trained Bands, which together made a formidable Army, so that the King thought fit to march back again to *Oxford*; This Action in a time of Treaty, (though not without sufficient ground) was so ill resented by the Houses, that they Voted *to have no Accommodation*: Yet afterward upon consideration, they again Petition him to desert his Army, and return to his Parliament, but with the same success as formerly.

At this time a Letter from one of the Kings Agents in *Holland* was intercepted, in which he is advertis'd of considerable Forces ready to be sent over for his Service; from *Denmark* likewise Arms are sent for ten thousand Foot, and 2500 Horse, with a Train of Artillery, and every thing proportionable, even to the Drums and Halberts. In *Yorkshire* the Earl of *Newcastle* had a sharp rencounter at *Tadcaster* with the L. *Fairfax*, and forced him to retreat: The Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Hartford*, *Cambridge*, the Isle of *Ely*, and the City of *Norwich*, are authorized by Parliament to associate under the L. *Gray* of *Wark*, and *Wincheſter* and *Chester* are gained by the Parliament. *Dec.*

Dec. 15. Collonel *Goring* with the Kings Standard, 80 Old Commanders, and ſtore of Warlike Proviſion, joyn with the E. of *Newcaſtle*. About which time the City of *London* Petitioned the King, and profeſs their grief, for his diſtruſt of their Loyalty, with large Proteſtations of their zealous Intentions to defend him, with all the Love and Duty which became good Subjects. The King replies, *That he hath a good Opinion of many of them, and could freely and willingly Pardon all except* Pennington *the preſent Maior*, Venn *and ſome others*; *and concludes with declaring his high diſpleaſure againſt ſuch as ſhall continue acting, and aſſiſting his Adverſaries*: Many of them were ſtartled with this Anſwer, yet were revived again with what Mr. *Pryn* and the Parliament Committee told their Common Council, of the Parliaments great Love and Affection to them, and Reſolution to live and dye in their Defence.

In the North Sir *Hugh Cholmly* encounters with ſeveral Parties of the Kings Horſe at *Malton*, and *Jan.* 16 joyning with Sir *Matthew Boynton*, routed a Party of 600 Horſe and Foot under Col. *Slingsby*. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* likewiſe takes *Leeds* with little loſs on his ſide, but 500 Royaliſts were made Priſoners, (ſix of them Commanders) 4 Colours, and much Arms and Ammunition were taken; The Kings Forces next leave *Wakefield* and *Doncaſter*, which are preſently garriſoned for the Parliament. The E. of *Newcaſtle* brings his Forces to *York*, to prepare for entertaining the Queen; and *Jan.* 17. he proclaims the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas*, *Traytors*, (as the E. of *Cumberland* had done before) which the Parliament reſenting, proclaimed the L. *Newcaſtle* the ſame.

The Parliament, *Febr.* 1. make theſe following Propoſitions to the King at *Oxford* (which were preſented by the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Pembrook*, and *Holland*, with 8 of the Houſe of Commons.) *To disband his Army, and to return home to his Parliament*; *To leave all Delinquents to Tryal, and all* Papiſts *to be diſarmed*: *To paſs an Act for Aboliſhing the preſent Church Governours, and ſuch other Bills as ſhall be prepared* in order to a Reformation;

All

All Popiſh Recuſants *to abjure and renounce* Popery; *All Malignant Councillors to be removed, the* Militia *to be ſetled according to the Parliaments minds; ſuch Perſons to be preferr'd to Great Offices and Places of Judicature, as the Parliament ſhall name, and all ſuch Juſtices of Peace as have been lately turned out of Commiſſion be again taken in*; That an Act paſs to *Vindicate the L.* Kimbolton, and *the* 5 *Members. And an Alliance be entred into with our* Proteſtant *Neighbours for Recovery of the* Palatinate, *That a General Pardon paſs, with exception to the E. of* Newcaſtle, *L.* Digby, *and ſome others; That ſuch Members of Parliament as have been diſplaced, be reſtored to Offices and Places, and ſatisfaction made them for their Loſſes.*

On the other ſide, the King Propoſed, 'That his own 'Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Ships, and Forts be re-'ſtored: That what hath been done contrary to Law, and 'the Kings Rights, may be renounced, and recalled: 'That all Illegal Power claimed, or acted by any Orders 'of Parliament, be diſclaimed; And as the King will 'readily conſent to the Execution of all Laws made or 'to be made concerning Popery, and Reformation, ſo he 'deſires a Bill for the preſerving the *Book of Common-'Prayer* againſt Sectaries; And that all *Perſons* excep-'ted againſt in the Treaty, may be Tryed *per Pares* by 'their Equals: That there be a Ceſſation of Arms, and a 'Free Trade.

This made way for a Treaty of Peace, but little was done in it till *March* 4. 1642. when Sir *Ben. Rudyard* one of the Commons, told the Parliament plainly, *That the War would ruine all*; whereupon they appointed Commiſſioners, that is, the E. of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Perpoint*, Sir *William Ermine* Sir *John Holland*, and Mr, *Whitlock*, who were to attend the King at *Oxford*.

Feb. 23. 1642. The Queen landed at *Burlington Key*, with Officers, Ammunition and Mony from *Holland*, from whence the E. of *Montroſs*, and the Lord *Ogilby* convey-ed her to *York*, where ſhe was honourably received by the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Newcaſtle*, and there ſhe began to form her Army. In the mean time Coll. *Maſſey* ad-

advances againſt Capt. *Bridges*, who kept *Shudley Caſtle* in *Gloceſterſhire*, with 60 Souldiers, and all other things ſufficient, for the Lord *Shandois* on the Kings behalf; Coll. *Maſſey* offers to ſtorm the Caſtle, but is repulſed, yet next day he poſſeſſed the Garden under the Caſtle, and firing ſome hay and ſtraw, made ſo great a ſmother in the Houſe, that taking the opportunity thereof, he planted his great Guns ſo conveniently, as forced the Beſieged to ſurrender upon Quarter, leaving their Arms, and ingaging to pay 500 pounds in ſix days for the goods in the Caſtle, or elſe to loſe them.

Yet had the Parliament no great cauſe of boaſting of this Victory; For ſoon after P. *Rupert* with 4000 Horſe and Foot, making ſhew to regain it, marches to *Cirenceſter*, where the ſtrength and great part of the Magazine of the County lay, and *Feb.* 1. he maſters the Guard, and forces his paſſage into the Town, which in two hours he gained, taking 1100 Priſoners, and 2000 Arms; And next day he ſummons *Gloceſter*, which Coll. *Maſſey* was reſolved to defend, and to ſtrengthen it, deſerts *Shudly Caſtle* and other out-Garriſons.

The Earl of *Worceſter* and his Son the L. *Herbert* had now raiſed an Army of near 1500 *Welchmen* for the King, with whom he marched to the Forreſt of *Dean*, and beat Coll. *Burroughs* Regiment out of a ſmall Town call'd *Coford* near *Monmouth*; from thence they march to *Hingham* within 2 miles of *Gloceſter*, and Coll. *Bret* demands the Town for the King, but was anſwered with ſcorn; for *Maſſey* with aſſiſtance from Capt. *Fines* at *Briſtol*, weakned them with continual Skirmiſhes, till Sir *William Waller* having taking *Malmsbury* came to *Gloceſter*, and joyned his Forces with the other, ſo that this *Welch* Army ſpent near five weeks without doing any Memorable Action.

But now Coll. *Maſſey* draws out all his Horſe, with 500 Foot, and ſome Ordnance, and held them play the firſt day; the next morning the great Guns give the Alarum, and both Parties engage very fiercely, and the *Welch* were like to have routed him, and taken his Ordnance,

nance, at which instant Sir *William Waller* comes in to *Massey's* assistance, who taking courage thereby they run furiously upon the *Welchmen*, and drive them back to *Hingham* house, which they began presently to batter with their Cannon; whereupon the *Welch* sound a Parley, and surrender the Place, and themselves Prisoners, but the Officers were to receive Quarter according to their Qualities; and next day *Waller* and *Massey* led their booty in Triumph to *Glocester*.

The assistance of the *Scots* had been formerly desired by the Parliament, which (notwithstanding their late Protestations not to take Arms against their Prince,) they now hearken to, and having compleated their Army, *March* 13. 1641. they cross the River *Tyne*, and march *Southward*, to imploy the E. of *Newcastle*.

The *Irish* Rebels about this time (notwithstanding the defeats they met with at *Tredagh* and *Dundalk*) were much increased in number; And the Pope (a more unhappy Fisher than his pretended Predecessor *St. Peter*, who was for saving, but he for destroying men) sends two Letters to them, one subscribed to *Owen Oneal*, and the other to all Archbishops, Bishops, Nobles and People of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in both which he commends those who had already appeared in the Quarrel, and exhorts others to engage in the same, declaring his great Joy for their late Butcheries, and Massacres upon the *Protestants*, and bestowing upon them his Fatherly Benediction, and Plenary Pardon and Absolution for whatever Villanies they had committed. By the *Popes* thus publickly declaring himself for them, the Rebels grew very powerful, and many who were at first afraid of being concerned, now openly appeared for them, insomuch that all parts of *Ireland* were overwhelmed by them as with an Inundation.

This year was remarkable for the death of Cardinal *Richlieu* that great Firebrand and disturber of *Europe*, but more particularly these three Kingdoms, of whose distractions he was both a principal causer, and Fomenter; He led the way to his Master *Lewis* 13, who deceased

ſed ſoon after in the midſt of his Conqueſts in *Catalonia*, leaving for his ſucceſſor his eldeſt ſon *Lewis* 14. (the preſent *French* King) under the Government of the Queen Dowager, and Cardinal *Mazarine* ſuceeded in *Richlieus* ſtead.

The year 1643. and the nineteenth of his Majeſties Reign, began with a Treaty of *Peace*, which was formerly agreed on, but proceeded ſlowly, till it was again revived by Sir *Ben. Rudyard*; The Commiſſioners on both parties now met at *Oxford*, and began to Treat of the Kings Propoſitions, concerning his Revenue, Magazines, Forts, and Ships; And the Parliaments *Propoſitions* concerning the diſbanding of Armies, which particulars taking up more time than the King expected, his Majeſty *April* 12, 1643. ſends this Meſſage to the *Parliament*.

That as ſoon as he was ſatisfied concerning his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships & Forces, in which he deſired nothing but his Juſt & Legal known Rights to be reſtored to him, and to Perſons Truſted by him; And as ſoon as the Members of both Houſes ſhould be reſtored to the ſame capacity of ſitting and Voting in Parliament as they had upon January 1. 1641. (*excluding ſuch whoſe Votes had been taken away by Bill, or by New Elections, or New Writs:*) *And that as ſoon as his Majeſty and both Houſes may be ſecured from ſuch Tumultuous Aſſemblies as to the High diſhonour of the Parliament had awed the Members of the ſame (which he conceived could not otherwiſe be done, but by adjourning the Parliament to ſome place Twenty miles from* London, *ſuch as the Houſes ſhould agree upon,*) *His Majeſty moſt chearfully and readily would conſent to the disbanding of the Armies, and would return ſpeedily to his two Houſes of Parliament according to the Time and Place which they ſhould agree upon.*

Upon this Meſſage the Parliament reſolved to call back their Commiſſioners, and ſo *April* 15. the Treaty ended; About the beginning of laſt *March* the L. *Brook* marched toward *Northampton*, and ſeizing the Ammunition there he went from thence to *Warwick*, and ſo to *Stratford* upon *Avon*, and beat Coll. *Crockers*, and Lt. Coll. *Wagſtaff's* Forces

Forces out of that Town; after which Beſieging *Litchfield*, one of the Kings Party ſhooting at a venture at the window of his Chamber, the bullet pierced him in the Eye, of which he immediately dyed, yet his Souldiers being heightned with Revenge, took the Cloſe with the Earl of *Cheſterfield* and all his Souldiers and Ordnance; after which Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Northampton* joyning their Forces, fell upon the Parliamentarians at *Litchfield*, where the E. of *Northampton* was ſlain in the head of his Troop, yet Lieut. Coll. *Ruſſel* who commanded it, deſpairing of ſuccour, yielded up the Place to Prince *Rupert* upon Honourable Conditions, and marched away to *Coventry*.

April 17. 1643. the E. of *Eſſex* ſate down before *Reading*, and made two aſſaults, but was repulſed; The King marched from *Oxford* to *Willingford* for its relief, but *Eſſex*'s Army increaſing daily with freſh ſupplies from *London*, both Parties happened to Skirmiſh at *Cauſum Bridge*, where many of the Kings Forces were ſlain, and forced to retreat; whereupon the Town was a while after ſurrendred by Coll. *Fielding*, who was made Deputy Governour in the room of Sir *Arthur Aſton* who was diſabled by a bruiſe he received in his head with a Brickbat: *Fielding* was for this Sentenced by a Council of War at *Oxford* to loſe his Head, but by the Interceſſion of Friends was pardoned.

May 3. *Cheapſide* Croſs was demoliſhed, a Troop of Horſe and two Companies of Foot waiting to ſee it done, and at the fall of the Top Croſs, Drums beat, Trumpets blew, & a great ſhout was made; *Charing-croſs*, and all other Croſſes in and about *London* were likewiſe pulled down about the ſame time.

In the mean time the breach between the King and Parliament became wider than ever; ſo that they proceeded to draw up Articles of High Treaſon againſt the Queen, ſome of which were; *That ſhe had pawned the Crown Jewells in* Holland, *That ſhe had favoured the Rebellion in* Ireland, *That ſhe had endeavoured to raiſe a Party in* Scotland

land *againſt the* Parliament, *and that ſhe had gone in the head of a Popiſh Army in* England; Several other Articles were framed againſt her, upon which Mr. *Pym* carried up an Impeachment to the Lords, who ſeemed at firſt ſurprized therewith, but they afterward agreed to the Charge.

The Queen had about this time raiſed an indifferent Army of Horſe and Foot, and leaving ſome Horſe and Foot with Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* for defence of *Lincolnſhire*, and *Nottingham-ſhire*, ſhe with 3000 foot, three Companies of Horſe and Foot, ſix Canons, & two Mortar-pieces, met the King at *Edge-hill*, and goes from thence with him to *Oxford*.

Several Encounters happened in the Weſt between Sir *Ralph Hopton* for the King and Sir *G. Chudleigh* then Commander of the Parliaments Forces, where ſometimes one Party was Victorious, and then the other; Collonel *Nath. Fines* Governour of *Briſtol*, about this time diſcover'd a deſign of *Robert Yeomans*, and *George Bouchier* to deliver up that City to the Kings Forces, upon which they were Condemned by a Council of War, and hanged *May* 30, notwithſtanding the Kings Letter to the Major and Citizens, and General *Ruthens* to the Governour on their behalf; And ſo ends this Month, famous by the Death of Mr. *John Pym* that active Perſon in the Houſe of Commons.

In *June* 1643. Mr. *Waller* a Member of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Challoner*, Mr. *Haſle*, Mr. *Blinkhorn*, Mr. *White* and others were Arraigned at *Guild-Hall London*, they being charged, *For deſigning to ſeize into their Cuſtody the Kings Children, ſome Members of Parliament, the L. Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, all the Cities Out-works, and Forts, the* Tower *of* London, *and all the Magazines and then to let in the Kings Forces to ſurprize the City.* Upon this Indictment they were Tryed, and Condemned, but *Tomkins* and *Challoner* onely were hanged.

Some Skirmiſhes paſſed between the E. of *Eſſex* and P. *Rupert*, who ingaging about *Tame* in *Oxford-ſhire*, The Prince routed a body of Horſe in *Chal-grave Field*, where Mr. *John Hambden* received his mortal wound; but in the *Weſt* the Parliaments Forces had better ſucceſs, where they

they took in the Towns of *Taunton* and *Bridgewater*; At this time finding the want of a Great Seal, the Parliament after long debates Voted. *That a new Seal should be made for Confirmation of their Acts and Ordinances*; which was forthwith done, and thereon was Ingraven the Picture of the House of Commons and Members sitting, and on the other side the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*; but between the Voting and making this Seal, they passed this Order, *That if the L. Keeper* Littleton *upon Summons did not return with the great Seal within fourteen dayes, he should lose his Place, and whatsoever should be Sealed therewith by him after that time, should be null and void in Law*; And presently after Mr. *Hen. Martin* a Member of Parliament seized upon the *Regalia* which were reposited in *Westminster Abby*; telling some of his Accomplices, *That the time would come wherein there would be no need of Crowns and Scepters.*

July 5. 1643. Sir *Wil. Waller* meets with Sir *Ralph Hopton*'s Forces at *Landsdown* near *Bath*, who though fewer than Sir *Williams*, yet maintained the fight from two in the afternoon till one the next morning; and then Sir *Williams* Party forsook the Field; *Hopton* himself was hurt, and lost divers Gentlemen of note, but the Parliaments loss was more; *Hopton* marches to the *Devizes* in *Wilt-shire* and *Waller* after him; whereupon the King sent 1500 Horse from *Oxford* to *Hoptons* relief; *Waller* draws off to *Roundway Down*, and there the Fight began in which the Parliamentarians were defeated and fled, leaving the Foot to the mercy of their Adversaries, by whom hundreds of them were Slain, and more taken, with four brass Guns, Ammunition and Baggage, 28 Colours, and 9 Cornets; *Waller* having thus lost his Army, posts to *London* with a few followers for Recruits. This Fight happened *July* 13. 1643.

Some difference arising in the *North* between L. *Fairfax* General for the Parliament, and Sir *John Hotham* Governonr of *Hull* who refused to submit to the L. *Fairfax*; the Parliament designed to displace *Hotham*, which he discovering by an intercepted Letter, began to project

new

new designs, and his Son Capt. *Hotham* being suspected by the Parliament was imprisoned at *Nottingham*, but made his escape and underhand Treated with the E. of *Newcastle*; Upon which Orders were sent for seizing both Father and Son, which was done accordingly, together with his wife, and the rest of his Children, who were all sent up Prisoners to the Parliament; and some Months after Sir *John* and his Son were brought to Tryal in *Guild-hall*, the E. of *Manchester* and others being assigned their Judges; and the Father is charged, *That he had Traiterously betrayed the Trust reposed in him by the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemy, as appeared by his Words, by his Letters, and by his Actions, and that he held correspondence with the Queen, the E. of* Newcastle, *L.* Digby, *and others of that Party, and had endeavoured to betray* Hull *to them.* His Son was charged with things of the same nature; upon which they were both Sentenced to be Beheaded, which was accordingly Executed, the Son *Jan.* 1. 1644. and the Father, the next day after.

But to return; *July* 4. 1643. P. *Rupert* sits down before *Bristol.* and though Coll. *Fines* had formerly hanged up some Citizens for intending to have delivered up the Town to the Prince, yet nevertheless the design took effect, for being at that time very ill provided for resistance, (which P. *Rupert* had notice of from his Correspondents within) the Governour was constrained after 3 days Siege, to surrender it to him.

Aug. 12. the E. of *Lindsey* being freed from his imprisonment wherein he was since *Edge-hill* fight, came to the King at *Oxford*; and soon after P. *Maurice* besieged *Exeter*, flinging in Granadoes & firing part of the Suburbs, upon which a fruitless Parley ensued; the next day the Prince masters the Great Sconce, and turns the great Guns thereon upon the City, and then the Garrison agreed to yield, the Officers only to part with their Swords, and the private Souldiers to march out with Cudgels in their hands. At this time Judge *Berkley* who had been imprisoned by the Parliament about *Ship-money*, was fined Twenty thousand pound, made incapable of all Offices,

and

and to continue a Prisoner during pleasure.

The Parliament were now busied for recruiting Sir *William Waller*'s Army, and to incline the *Londoners* to a more chearfull compliance, *Pennington* the L. Maior was made Lieutenant of the Tower; yet *Waller* was forced to stay because *Essex* his Army wanted likewise Reinforcement; *Essex* musters ten thousand men at *Hounslow Heath*, but this would not serve for so weighty an Affair as the relief of *Gloucester*, now besieged by the King, and he must therefore make use of the *London* Trained Bands.

Gloucester was the place which stopt the current of the King successes; *Massey* was Governour thereof, and had with him two Regiments of Foot, and an 100 Horse, which with some other Recruits made up 1500 men with forty Barrels of Powder, and a slender Artillery; yet they within behaved themselves like men of Resolution, and Allarum'd the Besiegers with frequent Sallies; The King plants his Cannon against the Gates which made above 150 shot, and the Grannadoes did some Execution in the Town, yet nothing abated the Spirits of the People. Whereupon the King prepares for a General Storm, and all was ready, they within being in want and having but three Barrels of Powder left, when news comes that *Essex* was on his March with a powerful Army to raise the Siege; whereupon after consultation had by the King with the General Officers, it was resolved, the Kings Army should draw off, which was done, and all their Hutts were set on fire, and *Sept.* 5. 1643. *Essex* enters into *Gloucester*, and having furnished the City plentifully with provisions, went after the King, who at that Siege lost that opportunity of marching up to *London* (the Parliament having then no considerable Army in the Field) which he could never regain.

The War had hitherto continued in *Ireland*, and the *English* Army had commonly success against the Rebels, but the King now understanding the Parliaments contracting with the *Scots* for aid; thought fit to strengthen himself by recalling part of his Army there, hither; and commissionated

commiſſionated the E. of *Ormond* his Lieut. General, to agree on a ceſſation for a year, which was concluded at *Singeſton*, and *Sept.* 18. 1643. was proclaimed by the Lords Juſtices and Council at *Dublin*; and ſoon after ſome Forces from thence landed in *Wales*, and took *Hawarden* Caſtle near *Cheſter* for the King.

The E. of *Eſſex* have relieved *Gloceſter*, ſpeeds after the King, and paſſing by *Cirenceſter* left a ſtrong Party there, where *P. Maurice* was expected that night; but inſtead of him comes *Eſſex*, & being miſtaken for the other, enters the Town without any Oppoſition, ſeizes, 400 men aud 30 Cart loads of Proviſion, and then marches to *Newberry* where the King was before, and had gotten the advantage of the Ground, and planted his Ordinance; Early in the morning, *Sept.* 20. 1643. *Eſſex* views the Kings Army, and in *Newberry* Common draws up his own, and falls to firing, the Kings Army doing the like; That part of the Army which P. *Rupert* charged, being overlay'd were forced to fall off on the Right hand, where two Great Bodies of Horſe marched down the Hill, and fell in furiouſly upon the Prince; both ſides acting with great valour and fury, and coming to handy-ſtrokes with their Swords.

The *Eſſexians* then wheeling about charged the L. *Jermins* Regiment, whom they forced to make their eſcape through ſome Bodies of Foot; this Battel cauſed great. loſs and bloodſhed on either ſide, but greater on the Kings whoſe other Bodies of Horſe commanded by the Earls of *Carnarvan*, and *Northampton*, notwithſtanding the great courage of their Commanders were overpowered, and the Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Sunderland*, Viſcount *Falkland* and many other Officers and Gentlemen ſlain; The *London* Trained Bands and Auxiliaries did the Parliament great ſervice in this Fight; Night coming on both Armies retired, and next day marched away from each other

After this, ſeveral Places were Garriſoned for the King by Sir *William Vavaſor*, as *Tewksbury*, *Shudley* Caſtle and other places in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, and ſoon after *Waller* again

again ſurpriſeth *Tewkſbury*, but is afterward beaten by P. *Maurice*. *Maſſey* and *Waller* take *Hereford*, and Sir *William Brereton* had the Town and Caſtle of *Eccleſhal* delivered upon reaſonable Quarter. An ordinance is now publiſhed by the Parliament to ſeize upon the Kings Revenue; And Sir *William Waller* is made Major General of *Hampſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Kent*, and marching to *Farnham* beat a Party of the Kings Army, and then took *Aulton* and *Arundell* Caſtle; Collonel *Norton* was routed by *Hopton*; and the Parliament finding the Kings Power increaſe, they Publiſh, *That whoever ſhall aſſiſt the King with Horſe, Arms, Plate or Money againſt them, are Traytors to the Parliament, and ſhall be ſo proceeded againſt*. The King ſummons a Parliament at *Oxford*, *Jan.* 22. 1643. where in the great Hall at *Chriſt-Church* he tells them, *That if he had the leaſt Thoughts of diſagreeing with the happineſs of this Kingdom, he would not adviſe with ſuch Councillors as they were*; And ſo the upper Schools were aſſigned to the Lords, and the *Convocation* Houſe to the Commons. In this Parliament, beſides the Prince, D. of *York*, L. Keeper *Littleton*, Treaſurer *Cottington*, D. of *Richmond*, and Marqueſs of *Hartford* there were 19 Earls and as many Lords, and 117 Knights and Gentlemen, and afterwards 5 Lords and 23 Gentlemen more came to them; The firſt thing they fell upon, was to conſider of means for effecting a Peace, to which end a Letter was written to the E. of *Eſſex*, and ſubſigned by all their hands, who returned no anſwer, but ſent it to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

Jan. 16. 1643. The *Scots* Army entred *England* by the way of *Newcaſtle*, being 18000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe under Gen. *Levens*; For *aſſiſting the Parliament in purſuance of the Solemn League and Covenant, and declaring the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe, which they profeſs to be Reformation of Religion, Honour of the King, and Peace of the Kingdoms*; *and that the main end of their coming is to reſcue the King from his pernicious Counſellors*. The Parliament careſſe the *Scots* Army, and impower them to aſſeſs for themſelves the Twentieth part of all Malignants Eſtates (as they called them) in the *North*, beſides what other Counties

Counties were aſſeſſed for them. But the Earl of *Newcaſtle* is marching to give them rougher entertainment, and the L. *Fairfax* ſent his Son Sir Thomas againſt him.

Sir *John Meldrum* with 700 men beſieged *Newark*, and is blockt up by Prince *Rupert*, whereupon they parlyed, and upon Articles were ſuffered to march away, leaving their Match, Bullet, Powder, Cannon and all other Fire-Arms behind them. In the mean time Matters are preparing for *Scotland* by *James* Marqueſs of *Montroſs* who had formerly ſided with the *Covenanters*, but now the King underſtanding he had really forſaken them, gives him a Commiſſion to be General Governor of *Scotland*, and orders him Forces to go into the heart of that Kingdom, for a diverſion to the *Scots*.

In the year 1644. the Twentieth of his Majeſties Reign, Sir *William Waller* defeats the L. *Hoptons* Forces and takes *Wincheſter*, and *Oliver Cromwell* was made Governour of *Ely*; *Budly* is ſurprized by Coll. *Fox* for the Parliament, and the Garrriſons of *Selby* and *Heintough* are taken by the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son, Prince *Rupert* raiſeth the ſiege at *Latham* Houſe. The King at this time in the preſence of the Peers at *Oxford* received the Sacrament at *Chriſt Church* at the hands of Biſhop *Uſher*, where he uſed theſe ſolemn Proteſtations:

My Lords, *I eſpy here many reſolved Proteſtants, who may declare to the world the Reſolution I do now make; I have to the utmoſt of my power prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver, and may I ſo receive* Comfort *by the Bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the eſtabliſhment of the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, as it ſtood in its beauty in the happy days of* Queen Elizabeth, *without any connivance at Popery; I bleſs God that in the midſt of theſe publick Diſtractions I have ſtill Liberty to communicate, and may this Sacrament be my damnation if my heart do not joyn with my lips in this* Proteſtation.

The Parliament at *Weſtminſter* Voted it *Treaſon for any Member, or Members of either Houſe to deſert them, and to go to the King, and they never to be received again.* The King mar-

marcheth out of *Oxford*, and is followed by *Eſſex* and *Waller*, he defeats *Waller* at *Cropredy-Bridge*, and *Eſſex* is blockt up by the Kings Forces in *Cornwall*, and *July* 4*th*. the King ſends ſeveral Letters to the *P*arliament about a Treaty of *P*eace. *Sept*. 12. the Parliament at *Oxford* Aſſemble again, but falling into Factions and Diviſions, the King in *March* following Diſſolves them.

The Earl of *Newcaſtle* was beſieged in *York* about two months. to whoſe relief Prince *Rupert* advanceth Northward with a great Power of Horſe and Foot, upon whoſe approach to the City the Beſiegers drew off, and thoſe within ſally out upon their Rear; the E. of *Newcaſtle* being thus relieved, joyns with *P. Rupert*, reſolving to follow the Parliamentarians and give them battel, which accordingly they did upon a Plain called *Marſton Moor*, where about 9000 men were ſlain, for the Royaliſts having near routed the Parliaments Army, purſued the Chace ſo far, that the Victory was ſnatcht out of their hands, and the *P*arliament obtained an entire Victory, after 3 hours Fight reſolutely maintained on both ſides: After which *York* was delivered up to the *P*arliament, and they ſoon became Maſters of all the *North*, and *Levens* the *Scotch* General takes *Newcaſtle*; after, this Battel which was the greateſt both for the fierceneſs of it, & for the number of Souldiers on on both ſides, **P.** *Rupert* goes into *Lancaſhire*, but the E. of *Newcaſtle* lately made Marqueſs, with his two Sons, and his brother Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, General *King*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Lord *Widdrington*, the Earl of *Cranworth*, the Biſhop of *London-derry*, Sir *Edward Widdrington*, Coll. *Carnaby*, Col. *Baſſet*, Col. *Mouſon*, Sir *William Vavaſor*, Sir *Francis Mackworth* with about eighty other perſons, upon ſome diſcontent, refuſed to engage any further in the Kings Cauſe, and went over to *Hamburgh*.

New Levies are now made by the Parliament, and 3 Attempts were made by the *P*arliamentarians upon *Dennington Caſtle*, but in vain; The Queen going from *Oxford* to *Exeter* was there delivered of a Daughter, *June* 16. 1644. who was called *Henrietta Maria* and afterward

ward went from thence to *Pendennis* Caſtle in *Cornwall* where ſhe embarqued for *France*, and did not return again to *England*, till His preſent Majeſties Happy Reſtoration in 1660. *Banbury* Caſtle is relieved by Sir *William Compton*, having been beſieged about 11 weeks by the Parliaments Forces; Coll. *Myn* is defeated by *Maſſy* near *Gloceſter*, and himſelf ſlain, and about 170 Officers and Souldiers taken Priſoners; Prince *Rupert* ſending 500 Horſe and Foot to fortifie *Beachly*, in order to his going to *Aſhferry*, they are routed by *Maſſey*, who ſoon after takes *Monmouth* Town.

Newberry ſeemed to be a Place deſtined for Martial exploits, for *October* 27. another great Battel was fought there, between the Kings party and the Parliaments, under *Eſſex*, *Waller*, and *Mancheſter*, wherein the *Royaliſts* were worſted, and between 4 and 5000 men ſlain on both ſides; *Nov.* 19. *Monmouth* is retaken by the K. Forces; *Decemb.* 23. Sir *Alex. Carew* was beheaded for endeavouring to deliver up the Iſland of *Plymouth* to the Kings Forces.

Two Principal *Iriſh* Rebels, the L. *Macguire* and *Macmahon* had been ſent from *Ireland*, and impriſoned in the *Tower*, from whence they made their eſcape, but being retaken, and Tryed, were found guilty of High Treaſon, and were both Drawn, Hang'd and Quartered at *Tyburn*, though *Macguire* pleaded his Priviledge to the Lords, as a Peer of *Ireland*.

Archbiſhop *Laud* having been accuſed by the Parliament in 1640. as the framer of the Canons in Convocation, and other Delinquencies, and the *Scots* joyning him and the E. of *Strafford* in their Grand Accuſation, charging him for obtruding the *Common Prayer Book*, and *Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical* upon their Nation, and for adviſing the King to diſſolve the laſt Parliament, and other ſuch matters, upon which he was firſt committed to the black Rod, and 10 weeks after Voted Guilty of *High Treaſon*, and ſent to the *Tower*, where he continued 4 years; his Charge was, *endeavouring the ſubverſion*, 1. *Of the Laws*, 2. *Of Religion*, 3. *Of the Priviledges of Parliament*; And after many times attending on the Houſe,

Jan. 4. 1644. they paſſed their *Ordinance of Parliament, That he ſhould be drawn, hang'd and quartered*; but upon his Petition, They voted him to be beheaded, which he ſuffered *Jan.* 10. after.

Jan. 30. 1644. a Treaty was begun at *Uxbridge* between the King and Parliament; the Commiſſioners for the King were theſe, the Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton*, *Kingſton* and *Chicheſter*, the Lords *Capel*, *Seymour*, *Hatton* and *Culpepper*, Sir *Edward Nichols*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, Sir *Richard Lane*, Sir *Thomas Grandure*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, and Dr. *Stewart*; Thoſe for the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* (for now they were joined in all publick Affairs) were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembrook*, *Salisbury* and *Denbigh*, Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. St. *Johns*, Mr. *Prideux*, Lord *Lowden*, Sir *Charles Erskin*, Mr. *Dondas*, Mr. *Brakely*, and Mr. *Henderſon*; The Commiſſioners on both ſides being met, the things to be Treated of were 1. *Religion.* 2. The *Militia.* 3. *Ireland*; but firſt the Kings Commiſſioners gave in this Paper concerning Religion.

Firſt, That Freedom be left to all Perſons of what opinion ſoever in matters of Ceremony, *and that all the Penalties, or the Laws and Cuſtoms which enjoyn thoſe penalties, be ſuſpended*; 2. *That the Biſhops ſhall exerciſe no Act of Juriſdiction, nor Ordination without the conſent and counſel of the* Preſbyters *who ſhall be choſen out of the* Clergy *of each* Dioceſs, *out of the learneſt, and graveſt Miniſters of that Dioceſs.* 3. *That the Biſhop keep his conſtant reſidence in his Dioceſs except when he ſhall be required by his Majeſty to attend him on any occaſion; And that if he be not hindred by the Infirmity of old Age or ſickneſs, he preach every* Sunday *in ſome* Church *of his Dioceſs.* 4. *That the Ordination of Miniſters ſhall be always in a publick, and ſolemn manner, and very ſtrict Rules obſerved concerning the ſufficiency, and other qualifications of thoſe men; who ſhall not yet be received into Holy Orders without the* Conſent *and Approbation of the* Preſbyters, *or the Major part of them.*

5. That

5. *That competent Maintenance be eſtabliſhed by Parliament to ſuch Vicarages as belong to Biſhops, Deans and Chapters out of the Impropriations according to the value of the ſeveral Pariſhes.* 6. *That no man ſhall be capable of two Parſonages or Vicarages with cure of Souls.* 7. *That toward the ſetling of the Publick peace, an Hundred Thouſand pounds ſhall be raiſed by Parliament, out of the Eſtates of Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters in ſuch manner as the King and Parliament ſhall think fit, without the Alienation of any of the ſaid Lands.* 8. *That the Juriſdiction in cauſes Teſtamentary, Decimals, Matrimonials, be ſetled in ſuch manner as ſhall ſeem moſt convenient by the King and Parliament, And likewiſe that Acts be paſſed for Regulating Viſitations, and againſt immoderate Fees in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and abuſes by frivolous Excommunication, and all other abuſes in Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions as ſhall be agreed upon by the King and Parliament; And if the Parliaments Commiſſioners will inſiſt upon any other things which they ſhall think neceſſary for Religion, the Kings Commiſſioners will very willingly apply themſelves to the conſideration thereof.*

The Paper of the Parliaments Commiſſioners concerning Religion was, *That the Bill be paſſed for aboliſhing and taking away of all Arch-biſhops, Biſhops,* &c. *That the Ordinances concerning the* Calling *and ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines be confirmed by Act of* Parliament; *That the Directory for Publick Worſhip already paſſed both Houſes; and the Propoſitions concerning* Church Government, *annexed and paſſed both Houſes, be enacted as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity; That His Majeſty take the* Solemn League and Covenant, *and that it be enjoyned to be taken by others;* To which was annexed the following Paper; *That the Ordinary way of dividing Chriſtians into diſtinct Congregations, and moſt expedient for Edification is by the reſpective bounds of their dwellings; That the Miniſter and Church Officers in each Congregation ſhall join in the Government of the Church as it ſhall be eſtabliſhed by Parliament; That many particular Congregations ſhall be under one Preſbyterial Government; That the Church be governed by Congregational, Claſſical, and Synodical Aſſemblies to be eſtabliſhed by Parliament; That Synodical Aſſemblies ſhall conſiſt both of Provincial and*

National Assemblies; which Papers took up three days of the Treaty in dispute; the next 3 days were ordered for the *Militia*; and the Parliaments Propositions concerning it were as followeth; *We desire that the Subjects of* England *may be armed, trained, and disciplined as the* Parliament *shall think fit*; *The like for* Scotland *as the* Parliament *there shall think fit*; *That an Act for setling the Admiralty and Forces at Sea, and Monies thereto for maintenance, may be as the* Parliament *shall think fit*; *The like for* Scotland; *That there be an Act for setling all Forces by Sea and Land in Commissioners to be named by the* Parliament, *and as both Kingdoms shall confide in, and to suppress all* Powers *and Forces contrary thereunto, and to Act as they shall be directed by* Parliament; *So for the Kingdom of* Scot. *That the* Militia *of the* City *of* Lon. *and of the Parishes within* Lon. *& the Liberties within the weekly Bills of Mortality be in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen & Common Council; That the Tower of* London *may be in the Government of the* City *and chief Officers, those to be nominated and removed by the Common Council*; *That the Citizens and Forces of* London *may not be drawn out of the* City *without their own consent, and that the Example in these distracted times be no* President *for the Future*;

Upon *February* 18. began the Articles about *Ireland*, wherein the Parliament desire, *That an Act be passed to make void the cessation of* Ireland, *and all Treaties with the Rebels, without consent of* Parliament, *and to settle the Prosecution of the War of* Ireland *in the* Parliament, *to be managed by the joint advice of both Kingdoms, and His Majesty to assist, and to do no Act to molest or discountenance them therein*; The Kings Commissioners would not consent to the Parliaments Propositions in any of 3 points, *Religion, Militia*, or *Ireland*, but motioned, *That if the Articles proposed by them did not give satisfaction, that then so great an Alteration as a Total Abolishment of a Government established by Law might be suspended, till after the disbanding of all Armies, that the King may be present with the Parliament, and a National Synod may be called to consider and determine of so important a business.* 2. *For the* Militia, *they would condescend no farther, than that the Persons trusted with the Militia*

by

be nominated between them, or that an equal number, the one half by the King, and the other by the Parliament ſhould be choſen, and this to be but for 3 years. 3. *As to* Ireland *they juſtified the Kings Proceedings, and would not allow of any thing that ſhould make againſt the* Ceſſation; And ſo the Treaty ended without any thing effected of what the poor people longed for; the Commiſſioners on both ſides being ſo much bounded by their Superiors; yet the King was much taxed (ſaith the Author of the *Continuation of Sir* R. Baker, *p.* 548.) by thoſe who were not ſlack to find out occaſions of Cavil againſt him about this Treaty, eſpecially for diſcovering ſo much favour and good will to the *Iriſh*, as was diſcovered in that Article, and alſo for his Tranſacting with them, and writing 2 Letters to the L. Deputy to haſten the Peace with them, and promiſing them that the Penal Statutes againſt *Roman* Catholicks ſhould not be put in Execution, when the Peace was made, provided they continued in due obedience; and further, when they gave him that aſſiſtance which they promiſed for his *Engliſh* occaſions, that then he would conſent to the repeal of them all by a Law, except thoſe againſt Appeals to *Rome* and *Premunire*; nay further it is laid to his charge as a matter of an high nature, that he had written to the Lieutenant a third Letter for haſtning the Peace, which rather than miſs, he ſhould promiſe to join with them againſt the *Scots*, and the Lord *Inchequin*; Theſe things the Parliament did much aggravate againſt him, and alſo took ſuch care for ſuccouring their Friends againſt the Rebels that they were never able to ſend over the promiſed ſupplies to the King.

At this time the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* held out his houſe at *Baſing* for the King; to reduce which Sir *William Waller* with his new Levies advances, and ſtorms it thrice in nine days, but was beaten off, and forced to retreat to *Farnham*; Collonel *Norton* ſucceeds in that ſervice, with whom join Coll. *Morley* and Sir *Richard Ouſlow*, who fall furiouſly to the work, but with greater hurt to themſelves, ſhortly after Coll. *Witherhead* comes to

them with his Regiment; the Besiegers fall to battering, while necessaries sail within; *Norton* sends his summons, which contemned by the Marquess; the Besieged sally out, and do much execution; and now comes Sir *William Waller* again, and with some Troops faced the House, on whom the Besieged plaid from their works; The Marquess sends to *Oxford* for relief, which is promised; In the mean time *Waller* again departs; and Colonel *Gage* is sent from *Oxford* with a Regiment of bold Blades, who find Col. *Norton* ready to receive them on *Chinham Down*; *Gage* makes his Approach, appearing first on an Hill near the Highway which leads to *Andover*, whereupon *Norton* charges with great Courage, and breaks through the others Horse, who having a rescue of Musketeers, with more than ordinary valour forced *Norton* to retreat as far as the Church, and so through *Basingstoke*; the same time the Besieged sallying out at several places brought in many Prisoners; The relief which *Gage* brought in consisted of many Horseload of Powder and Match, a drove of Cattel, beside Powder from *Basingstoke*. *November* 15. the Besiegers after 24 weeks labour in vain raised the Siege, having lost about a Thousand men one way or other during their stay before that House; nor had the Kings Forces any better success in their long Sieges before *Plymouth*, *Lyme*, *and Taunton* in the *West*, which three places cost them the lives of some Thousands of their Souldiers, and yet not taken at last.

April 19. 1644. The Earl of *Montross* entred *Scotland*, and seized *Dumfrize*, expecting the assistance of some *Irish* to be sent him by the Earl of *Antrim*, who not coming according to promise, he was fain to retire into *England*, and from thence sends the L. *Ogilby*, and Sir *Wil. Rollock* disguised into the heart of *Scotland*, who brought back uncomfortable Tydings of the great power & strength of the *Covenanters*; whereupon he sends *Ogilby* to the King for more men, or at least Arms from beyond Seas, but these Messengers were surprized, and imprisoned by the *Covenanters*, *Montross* with a small retinue re-enters *Scotland* and comes to his Cosen *Patrick Graham*, where he lies close, until instead of Ten Thousand promised, *A-*

lexander Macdonal brings over into the North of *Scotland* an Hundred and Ten *Irish* from *Antrim*, with whom *Montroſs* meets in *Athol* where eight hundred Countrymen join with him; with theſe and ſome other aſſiſtance he meets with the Covenanters near *Perth*, under the Earl of *Tulliban* and ſome other Lords with ſix thouſand Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe ready to fight; *Sept.* 1. the Lord *Drummond* comes out with a Forlorn hope, and at the firſt onſet is routed back to the main body, and ſo *Montroſs* with a ſhout lets looſe his whole Forces upon them, and puts them to flight with the ſlaughter of Two Thouſand, and many Priſoners, and the City of *Perth* taken. After which Victory, divers other Lords and Gentlemen come in to him, with whom he ſeeks out the *Covenanters*, who lay at *Aberdeen* with an Army of Two Thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe commanded by the L. *Burleigh*, expecting the Conjunction of the E. of *Argile* and his Forces; which *Montroſs* means to prevent by fighting them; *Montroſs* had but 44 Horſe and Fifteen Hundred Foot, all reſolute men who did their work with much Courage, routing and purſuing their Enemies to the Gates of *Dundee*; after which *Montroſs* enters *Aberdeen*; but news comes poſt that the Earls of *Argile* and *Lothian* were at hand with a ſtrong body of Horſe, which *Montroſs* unable to encounter retires to *Highland* Mountains, and goes to *Stragbogey* to try if he could perſuade the *Gordons* to engage on his ſide; but they were hindred by the E. of *Huntley* their Chief, who though a Royaliſt himſelf, yet out of meer envy to *Montroſs*, did more obſtruct the Kings buſineſs than the *Covenanters* themſelves; here *Montroſs* ſculkt, but *Argile and Lothian* follow him, and near *Fary* Caſtle they skirmiſh together, and the *Montroſſians* having the advantage of an Hill, put their Enemies to a diſorderly retreat; after which they both Treat, during which ſome of *Montroſſes* followers are dealt with to betray him; wherefore to ſecure himſelf he marcheth away to *Badenah*, many of his men by *Argiles* means falling off from him; and making no ſtay there, through unknown byways comes to *Dunkeldon*, and frightens *Argile* out of

thoſe parts; *Macdonel* was imployed by *Montroſs* to the *Mack-Renolds*, with whom he uſed ſuch perſuaſions that five Hundred of them with their Chief followed him to the Earl, and *Patrick Graham* brings ſome recruits from *Athol*; with theſe *Montroſs* marches into the County of *Argile*, where that Earl was liſting Souldiers, but *Montroſſes* coming frightens him away, and he Victoriouſly divides his Army into 3 Brigades, himſelf leading one *Mackdonel* another, and *Macrenhold* a Third, and with Fire and Sword ruines and deſtroys all, and ſo departs to *Logues*, where five Thouſand Horſe and Foot commanded by the Earl of *Seafort* were ready to oppoſe him, and the Earl of *Argile* was not far off with Three Thouſand Foot; to prevent their joyning he reſolves to fall upon *Argile*, which he does, and after a ſhort Fight, in which Fifteen hundred were ſlain, puts him to the rout, with ſuch terror that they ran 9 miles outright; on *Montroſſes* party were but few killed, though many hurt, of whom Sir *Thomas Ogilby* dyed after of his wounds.

In *England* the Kings Forces prevail in *Gloceſterſhire*, and take *Rowdon* Houſe, after ſtiff reſiſtance made by the Colonels *Devereux and Stephens*, and Collonel *Hopton* having raiſed 60 Horſe and 40 Foot for the Parliament is ſurprized and carried Priſoner with all his Men into *Ludbury* in *Herefordſhire*; But the *Parliamentarians* met with Sir *John Winter* and routed him, and another *Party* of theirs ſurprized *Shrewsbury*; *Prince Rupert*, P. *Maurice*, the Lord *Haſtings*, *Aſhly*, *Langdale*, and *Gerrard* with the greateſt part of the Kings Forces went into *Wales* to raiſe more Souldiers, and the King by his Agents abroad ſollicites for Forreign *Princes* aid and the Queen Treats with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had an indifferent Army about *Collen*, and had near finiſhed her buſineſs, when Card. *Mazarine* ſpoils all, and finds other work for that Duke; The K. ſends alſo to *Denmark*, but that King being newly engaged in ſome differences with the *Sweed*, His Majeſty was forced to make the beſt proviſion he could at home, to engage againſt the *New Model* deſigned by the Parliament.

And thus ends the year 1644. At the beginning of the nex:

next the *Parliament* were busied about framing an Ordinance for calling the Members of both Houses from all publick Imployments, having been formerly discontented with their General the Earl of *Essex*, whom they suspected as careless or discontented, because after the second Battel of *Newberry*, he suffered the King to march away without any molestation, and after to relieve *Dennington* Castle, and besides that he had quitted *Newberry*, and let it fall into the Kings hands, *&c.* This was at last past with exceptions of *Cromwell* and a few others, and was called, *The Self-denying Ordinance*; The effect whereof was; *That all and every the Members of either House shall be discharged, at the end of* 40 *days after the passing this Ordinance of all their Command, Military or Civil,* conferred by *Parliament since* November 20. 1640. *That all other Governors and Commanders (not Members) by Land or Sea shall continue in their Offices, wherein they were intrusted,* March 30. 1644. *Provided and excepted, that Lieutenants, and their Deputies in several Counties, Cities and Places, or of any* Custos Rotulorum, *or Justices of* Peace, *or Stewards, or any Commissioners of* Oyer *and* Terminer *or Goal delivery; as also that those Members of either House who had Offices by Grant from His* Majesty *before the Parliament, and were by him displaced before the sitting of the Parliament, and have since by the Parliament been restored, shall not be discharged from their said Offices or profits thereof, but shall enjoy the same.*

The Parliament being thus resolved to Model their Army, the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester* and *Denbigh* surrender their Commissions in the House of Lords, desiring the Souldiers Arrears may be discharged; upon which the Commons Vote Ten Thousand Pound a year to be paid to the E. of *Essex* out of the Delinquents Estates for his Service and Losses; and the Earl of *Warwick* yields up his Commission of Admiral at Sea, which Offices are presently intrusted with Commissioners; The Parliament after some jarring of both Houses about it, Elected Sir *Tho. Fairfax* to be General of their Army, and had accordingly sent for him out of the North; The other chief Officers of this *New Model* were,

Philip Skippon Major General of the whole Army, *Oliver Cromwell* Lieutenant General of the Horſe, *Henry Ireton* Commiſſary General of the Horſe; The Collonelſo Foot were Sir *Hardreſs*, *Waller*, *Hammond*, *Harley*, *Montague*, *Loyd*, *Pickering*, *Holbourn*, *Craford*, *Berkley*, *Albridge*, *Ingoldsby*, *Rainsborough*, *Welden*; for the Horſe were Collonels *Butler*, *Sheffeild*, *Fleetwood*, *Roſſiter*, *Rich*, *Whaley*, *Graves*, *Sydney*, *Middleton*, *Vermuden*, *Leviſair*; and Sir *Robert Pye*, and *John Okey* were Collonels of the Dragoons; After this unhappy Model, the Kings affairs in all places began fatally to decline.

The Parliamentarians having ſurpriſed *Shrewsbury*, Collonel *Mitten* receives publick Thanks in the Houſe of Commons for that ſervice, which was very conſiderable, as being the Kings chiefeſt Garriſon, wherein were taken 8 Knights and Baronets, 40 Collonels, Majors, Captains, and others of Quality, beſides common Men; 15 pieces of Ordinance, many hundred Arms, divers Barrels of powder, P. *Maurice*'s Magazin and all this without any conſiderable damage on their ſide. About this time Sir *M. Langdale*, with 2000 Horſe and Foot from *Oxford*, beats the *Lincolneſhire* Horſe, relieves *Newark*, *Belvoy*, and *Aſhby de la Zouch* with proviſions, and marcheth Northward to *Pontefract*, and notwithſtanding the Lord *Fairfax* his Power, relieveth the Caſtle alſo; from hence he returns to *Newark*, ſo to *Litchfield*, then to the Forreſt of *Dean*, and beats off Collonel *Dean* from lying before *Lydney*. The King at *Oxford* takes care to furniſh his Garriſons, and fit his Army for the Field: The E. of *Northampton* rears the Parliaments *Northampton* Horſe; but Major General *Brown*, Governour of *Abingdon*, for the Parliament, ſends out ſeveral Parties, who return with ſucceſs. About this time the Houſe of Lords make the E. of *Northumberland* and his Counteſs, Governour and Governeſs of the Kings Children at *White-Hall*.

The *New Model* being now compleated, Sir *Tho. Fairfax* ſets forth for *Windſor*, where he applies himſelf to the forming of his new Army, wherein M. G. *Skippon* was ſo active, that the Parliament ſent him a Letter of Thanks

for

for that and all his former ſervices: Hither comes Lt. General *Cromwell*, whom, after ſome Salutations paſt, the General ordered to march toward *Oxford* with a Brigade of Eleven Hundred Horſe and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of 2000 Horſe, which Prince *Rupert* had ſent from *Worceſter* to fetch off the King with his Train of Artillery, and ſome Foot, ſo to imbody and take the Field; At *Iſlip Bridge Cromwell* falls upon them and routs them, takes between 4 and 500 Horſe, and 200 priſoners, with the Queens Standard, the reſt betook themſelves to *Blechinton*-Houſe, whither *Cromwell* purſues them, and ſends a ſharp Summons to the Governour, who, doubting of Relief from *Oxford*, thinking that the Enemy had a conſiderable ſtrength of Foot, and overſuayed by the puling Tears of ſome Ladies, got thither to viſit his Wife, ſurrendred the Houſe with all the Arms and Ammunition, which were ſent to *Ailsbury*, and the Houſe demoliſhed, for which the Governour, Colonel *Windebank*, is ſhot to death at *Oxford*; *Cromwell* improves his ſucceſs, and falls upon a party of 300 Foot, about *Banton Buſh*, whom he defeats, and takes them almoſt all priſoners, with their Arms and Ammunition, and ſends them with a Convoy to *Abington*, and Colonel *Fines* beats another party of Horſe, taking 150 Horſe, 3 Colours, and 50 Arms; Sir *John Winter* being relieved by *Langdale*, and obtaining from P. *Rupert* 2000 Horſe, and 1500 Foot, made ſuch a ſtir, as drew all the *Glocester* Forces upon him, upon which the Prince, *April* 22. marches all night to his Aſſiſtance, and finds *Maſſey* before *Lidbury*, to whom he gives a ſudden Alarm; *Maſſey* being thus put to it, drew up, and fought the Horſe, entertaining the Royaliſts with hot charges whilſt the Foot might get off; but being overpowered was fain to give way, and the Royaliſts falling on the Foot, did much Execution upon them: *Maſſeys* Horſe was ſhot dead under him by P. *Rupert*, and Major *Backhouſe* received his mortal wounds, divers were ſlain, and the reſt by flight eſcaped.

Prince *Rupert* marches from thence with about 6000 Hor.

Horſe and Foot, towards *Ludlow*, and ſo to *Shrewsbury*, draining the Garriſons, and taking to him the leſſer Brigades; and ſo he and his Brother *Maurice*, aſſiſted with *Gorings* Horſe and Dragoons, fetched off the King from *Oxford*, who, with a numerous Army, advanceth toward the Siege of *Cheſter*; General *Fairfax*'s Army being now fully compleated, he was ordered cloſely to beſiege *Oxford*, as being the Kings chief Garriſon, where moſt of his Artillery lay; *Cromwell* and *Brown* being recalled from following the King, to aſſiſt the General therein; *May* 12. Col. *Welden* comes to relieve *Taunton*, of which the Royaliſts being informed, they reſolved to give one furious Aſſault, and if it ſucceeded not, to riſe from the Siege and be gone, which not taking effect, they preſently marched away, and Collonel *Welden* enters the Town, and finds it almoſt ruined by Fire, two long ſtreets of fair Buildings being burnt to the ground; and thus was *Taunton* relieved, after it had endured a hard Seige. About this time M. G. *Maſſey* takes in *Eveſham* by ſtorm, where Col. *Wm. Leg* was Governour, who was taken priſoner, with 20 Officers, 500 Foot, and 120 Horſe, and all the Arms and Ammunition; *Fairfax* lying before *Oxford*, ſent out a party of Horſe and Foot, under Col. *Rainsborough*, to ſummon *Gaunt*-Houſe; the Governour whereof, though at firſt he anſwered, *he liked not* Windebank *Law*, yet ſeeing *Rainsborough* ready to ſtorm it, he ſurrenders upon Quarter.

The King with his Army marching toward *Cheſter*, carried ſuch a Terrour with him, that made Sir *Wm. Brereton* quit the Siege, and ſo his work being done, he wheels about, and ſits down before *Leiceſter*, ſending a ſummons to the Town, who deſire reſpite till next morning; the Trumpeter returning, a Drum was ſent, requiring an Anſwer within a Quarter of an Hour, which time while they within ſpend in Debate, the Kings Cannons play upon the Town from the Battery, and all are commanded to their charge in order to a Storm; The Conteſt continued a day and a night, and the Town was ſtormed at 6 or 7 places, and *May* 31. was entred; the Com-

Committee-Men, with the Governour, Col. *Gray*, and *Hacker* were taken priſoners, much Ammunition, and the plunder of the Town ſent to the Kings Garriſons thereabouts, thoſe that eſcaped fled to *Rockingham* Caſtle, and from thence the King Triumphant marches toward *Northampton*, and faces that Town; In the Weſt *Goring*, *Hopton* and *Greenvill* united their Forces, and fall upon *Weldens* Brigade, whom they forced to retire to *Taunton* in great Diſorder, and were there ſomwhat ſtreightned. *Fairfax* was now ordered to riſe before *Oxford*, and *Cromwell* marcheth into the aſſociated Counties, to prevent the Kings Irruptions into them, and Col. *Vermuden* was to join with the *Scots* with a party of 2500 Horſe and Foot, in caſe the King ſhould advance *Northward*. *June* 5. Their Army had a general Rendezvouz at *Great Brickhill*, where they had news the King was about *Daventry*; thereupon it was reſolved to give him Battle, to which end *Cromwell* is ſent for, with 600 Horſe and Dragoons; *Vermuden* likewiſe returns, and *Fairfax* ſends Poſt for Sir *John Gell*, Col. *Roſſiter*, and the Governours of *Coventry*, *Warwick*, *Northampton*, and *Nottingham*, to march with all ſpeed with their Forces to the General, becauſe there was like to be a ſpeedy Engagement; The Kings Forces lay ſtill about *Daventry* and *Burrough-hill*, which being a place of great advantage, it was thought he had choſen it to fight upon; but his Deſign was (having relieved *Oxford* with ſtore of Cattle and Sheep) to march for the relief of *Pontefract*, and *Scarborough*; but *Fairfax* advanceth to *Gilborough*, within 4 Miles of *Northampton*, and 5 of *Burrough-hill*; and both Armies lying nigh each other, the *Fairfaxians* alarm the *Royaliſts*, and take ſome priſoners, the King being then abroad. *June* 13. The King drew off from *Burrough-hill* to *Harborough*, deſigning for *Pontefract*, thinking if he were followed, it would be more advantage to fight further Northward; *Fairfax* ſends out *Ireton* with a flying party of Horſe, who fall upon a party of the Kings Reer, quartered in *Naſeby* Town, takes many priſoners, ſome of the Prince's Life-guard, and *Langdale*'s Brigade, and

and gives such an Alarm to the whole Army, that the King at Midnight leaves his own Quarters, and for security hastens to *Harborough*, where the Van of his Army was quartered, raises P. *Rupert*, and calls a Council of War, where it was resolved to give Battle, and because *Fairfax* had been so forward, they would no longer stay for him, but seek him out; *Fairfax* was come from *Gilborough* to *Gilling*, and from thence to *Naseby*, where both Armies drawn up in Battalia faced each other.

Saturday, *June* 14. was fought that unfortunate Battle which proved so fatal to the King and his Cause; His Majesty commanded the Main Body, P. *Rupert*, and P. *Maurice* the Right Wing, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left, the E. of *Lindsey*, and the L. *Ashley* the Right Hand Reserve, the L. *Bards*, and Sir *G. Lisle* the Left: Of the Parliaments Army *Fairfax* and *Skippon* commanded the Main Body, *Cromwell* the Right Wing, with whom was Col. *Rossiter*, who came with his Forces but a little before the Fight, and *Ireton* had the Left; the Reserves were brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*. P. *Rupert* charged the Parliaments Left Wing, commanded by *Ireton*, who made a notable Resistance, but at last was forced to give ground, *Ireton* himself being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with an Halbert, his Horse shot under him, and himself taken prisoner; for a while *Rupert* follows the Chase almost to *Naseby* Town, and in his return summoned the Train of Baggage and Provisions, who made no other Answer but with their Firelocks; but in the mean time *Cromwell* chargeth furiously on the King's Left Wing, and got the better, forcing them from the Body, and prosecuting the Advantage, quite broke them and their Reserve, during which the main Bodies had charged with incredible fierceness, often retreating and often rallying, falling in together with the But ends of their Muskets, and coming to Handy-blows with their Swords; but *Fairfax*'s Foot coming up seasonably to the Horse, and *Cromwell* coming in with his victorious Right Wing, they all charged together upon the King

Kings main Army, who, unable to endure any longer, retired out of the Field toward *Leiceſter*, and P. *Rupert*, who now too late returned from his too eager purſuit, ſeeing the day loſt, accompanied them in their Flight, leaving (as Heaven would have it) a compleat Victory to the *Parliamentarians*, who purſued them within 2 miles of *Leiceſter*, and the King finding the purſuit ſo hot, leaves the Town, and haſtes to *Litchfield*: The Battle was exceeding bloody, both Armies being very couragious and numerous, and not 500 odds, fought in a large fallow field on the North-Weſt ſide of *Naſeby*, about a Mile broad, which ground was wholly taken up: On the Parliaments ſide were wounded and ſlain above a 1000 Officers and private Souldiers; M. G. *Skippon* (who was an old experienced Souldier, and was ordered to draw up the Battle) fought ſtoutly that day, and though he was ſo ſorely wounded in the beginning of the Fight, and the General defired him to go off the field, he anſwered, *he would not ſtir ſo long as a man could ſtand*; *Ireton* was dangerouſly hurt, and taken Priſoner for a while, after he had done his part; but in the confuſion of the Fight got looſe again, and ſaw the Victory atchieved: The General and Lieutenant General performed their part with ſufficient Reſolution, (had their Cauſe been as good) and by their own examples infuſed valour into their followers; ſo likewiſe did the other Officers, of whom divers were wounded.

On the other ſide the King ſhewed himſelf that day a couragious General, keeping cloſe with his Horſe, and himſelf in Perſon rallying them to hot Encounters; the E. of *Lindſey*, L. *Aſhly*, Col. *Raſtol*, and others, were wounded, 20 Collonels, Knights, and Officers of note, and 600 private Souldiers ſlain; but much more was the damage the King ſuſtained by what was taken, that is, 6 Collonels, 8 Lieutenant Collonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 200 Enſigns, with divers other inferiour Officers, 4500 common Souldiers, and many Women; 13 of the Kings Houſhold Servants, 4 of his Footmen, 12 pieces of Ordinance, 8000 Arms, 40 Barrels

Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages, all their Bag and Baggage with ſtore of rich *Pillage*, three thouſand Horſes, the Kings Standard, one of the Kings Coaches, and his Cabinet of Letters and Papers, which not without indecency were after publiſhed by the Parliament; Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* haſtned away the ſame night to *Newark*; The next day the General ſent up Collonel *Fines* with the Priſoners and Colours taken in the Fight; and with this comes News of ſeveral other ſucceſſes, as the gaining of *Houghton* Garriſon near *Grantham*, and Sir *William Brereton*s beating a Party of the Kings Forces in *Cheſhire*, and taking 150 *Priſoners*; and 400 Priſoners taken in fight by a party from *Shrewsbury*, and the taking Major *Fenningham*, and divers others by Captain *Stone*; Sir *John Gell* marching with 2000 Horſe, in his way took 90 *Priſoners* of the Kings ſcattered Horſe, and ſome of *Newark* Garriſon, and then joining with *Fairfax*, they ſate down before *Leiceſter*, which after ſeveral Aſſaults was ſurrendred by the Lord *Haſtings* Governor, upon Honourable Terms; In it were 14 pieces of Ordnance, 30 Colours, 2000 Arms 500 Horſe, 50 Barrels of *Powder*, and other Ammunition proportionable; And *June* 28. Sir *Tho. Glenham* after a long Siege deſpairing of ſuccour, yeilds up *Carlile* to the Parliament. But however *Taunton* was yet in a low condition, and therefore *Fairfax* was ordered thither, who by the way meets with a multitude of ruſtical People called *Clubmen*, declaring themſelves Newters, and deſired ſafe Paſſage for their Commiſſioners to go both to the King and Parliament, to which the General returned a Civil anſwer, but that not ſatisfying them, *Fairfax* having joyned with *Maſſey* ſoon frighted them into more moderation, ſo that the Army paſſed quietly on their Journey.

General *Goring* hearing of the Approach of *Fairfax*, drew off from *Taunton*, having received conſiderable loſs from Collonel *Robert Blake* the Governor, and ſoon after *Fairfax* following *Goring*, puts the *Royaliſts* to a diſorderly retreat, and preſſing fiercely upon them, purſues them almoſt to *Bridgwater*, and in *Sutton Field* near *Langport*,

July

July 10. there was a ſharp Ingagement, in which there was not much odds in the number of the ſlain, they being in all judged to be about 1100. of the Kings Party there were Fourteen Hundred Priſoners taken, about Twelve Hundred Horſe, Coll. *Feningham*, Coll. *Slingsby*, divers Officers of Quality, and 30 Priſoners; Soon after Sir *Tho. Fairfax* ſits down before *Bidgwater*, and after Summons he aſſaulted the Town very deſperately, winning the lower part thereof, and then ſends a ſecond ſummons, telling them, *That their Denial wrought no other Thoughts of Compaſſion in him but only to Women and Children, who might ſuffer by the Governors Obſtinacy, and ſo divers Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Children came out of the Town*; And then the General being better provided with Materials for his work, gave the ſecond Aſſault, ſome ſtormed, others fired with Granado's, and ſlugs of hot Iron; and the wind ſerving their turn, it wrought ſuch effect, that the Governor Coll. *Windham* moved therewith, ſurrendred the Town upon Condition only of fair Quarter, and the Town to be preſerved from Plunder; This was done *July* 23. 1645. there being a Thouſand Officers and Souldiers Priſoners, 44 Barrels of Powder, 1500 Arms, 44 Pieces of Ordnance, and 400 weight of Match. In the North, *Pomfret* Caſtle, and *Scarborough* were taken by the Parliaments Forces, and ſoon after the Town of *Bath* was ſurrendred to Coll. *Okey*; In the mean time the Clubmen continued their Meetings, and Coll. *Fleetwood* ſeized 50 of the Ringleaders at *Shaftsbury*, yet this would not reduce them, they being ſtill about four thouſand, whereupon *Cromwell* endeavours by Parley to reduce them to reaſon; which not ſucceeding, he falls upon them, kills ſome, diſperſeth the reſt, and takes 400 Priſoners, which defeat utterly quelled them.

About this time the King marching up and down *Wales* to raiſe Supplies, he comes thence to *Litchfield*, and by the way fights a Party of *Scotch* Horſe and Dragoons, then marches to *Aſhburn*, beats Sir *John Gell*, and carries ſome Priſoners with him to *Welbeck* houſe, and ſo ranging

ging up and down with a flying Army, takes *Huntington*, *Cambridge*, and St. *Ives*, which laſt place he fined 500 Pounds; thence he went to *Owburne*, and ſo to *Oxford*, *Auguſt* 28. where he ſtaid not long, but advanced to *Ludlow* earneſtly intent upon the relief of *Cheſter* then cloſe beſieged by Sir *William Brereton*; Mr. *G. Poyns* with a Party of Horſe was appointed to attend the Kings Motion, and followed him ſo cloſe, that on *Routon Heath* 2 miles off *Cheſter* they came to a Fight, where *Poyns* was forced to give ground, and had been utterly overthrown, if Coll. *Jones* had not come in with a new ſupply from *Brereton*, which incouraged *Poyns* to rally, and ſo the King being beſet both Rear and Front, forſook the Field, and betook himſelf to *Cheſter*, which finding much weakned by Batteries, and the Aſſailants ready to ſtorm, he went from thence to *Wales*. *Fairfax* was now before *Sherburn* Caſtle, and the Governor Sir *Lewis Dives* not hearkning to any ſummons, endured a furious ſtorm, and after an extream cruel Fight, and much bloodſhed on both ſides, the Caſtle was yielded upon Quarter, *Aug.* 15 with 400 Priſoners; many of them Perſons of Quality; 18 pieces of Ordnance, and a Mortar-piece. Then *Nunney Caſtle*, and *Portſhead Point* were ſurrendred to the Parliament; and *Fairfax* beſieged *Briſtol*, ſufficiently provided with all neceſſaries, and defended by P. *Rupert*, to whom *Fairfax* ſends a ſummons to deliver the City, for preventing bloodſhed; P. *Rupert* deſired leave to ſend to the King, which being denied, he offers to ſurrender up the place upon condition, *That every man ſhould march away in the height of honour, with their Arms; Colours flying, Drums, Trumpets, and as much Powder and Match as they could carry about them, with Bag, Baggage, Horſe, Arms, 10 Guns and Fifty barrels of Powder; Laſtly, the Lines and Fortifications to be ſlighted, and the City to be no more a Garriſon.*

Fairfax ſends anſwer ſatisfactory enough, but not in reference to the diſmounting the place; ſo that Prince *Rupert* having by ſeveral Attempts done as much as poſſible for preſerving the place, was forced at laſt to ſurrender;

render; In this City were found 140 pieces of Canon mounted, 100 Barrels of Powder, Victuals in the Royal Fort for 130 men for 320 days, the Caſtle Victualled for near half ſo long; the Prince had in Garriſon 2500 Foot, 1000 Horſe, beſides the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries above a Thouſand, ſo that the gaining thereof was of great conſequence to the Parliament; Soon after the *Deviſes*, *Wincheſter*, *Baſing-houſe*, *Lamock Houſe*, *Barkley Caſtle*, *and Chepſtow* were taken; So that in earneſt the Kings condition began to be very low, for having again got together a good body of Horſe out of *Wales*, he reſolved to ſend the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with 1600 Horſe to joyn with *Montroſs*, who had of late much prevailed in *Scotland* againſt the *Covenanters*; they accordingly marched into *Yorkſhire*, and near *Sherborn* ſurprized 800 Foot of the *Parliamentarians* with their Arms; but ſtaying for Carriages, Coll. *Copley*, *Lilburn* and others, came upon them with their Forces and routed them, recovered all, and took 400 Priſoners, and 600 Horſe, *Digby*'s Coach and Cabinet of Letters; *Digby* with the reſt fly Northwards, and at *Carlile* Sands are the ſecond time defeated by Sir *John Brown*, 100 of them ſlain, 200 Horſe taken, and many Priſoners; In their flight toward *Beiſton Caſtle*, they were again met with by Coll. *Briggs*, who took 200 of them, beſides 180 of them who flying through *Weſtmorland* were ſeized by *Vandruſk*; ſo that the Lord *Digby* with a very ſmall retinue fled over to the *Iſle of Man*, and thence into *Ireland*, to the E. of *Ormond*; Thus the Parliament thrived every where. for *Tiverton*, *Longford Houſe*, *Carmarthen*, *Monmouth*, *Shelford Houſe* near *Newark*, *Worton*, *Wiverton* and *Welbeck* were about this time taken by their Forces; And *Hereford* having been long beſieged was *Dec.* 18. thus taken by ſuprize; the Governour had iſſued out Warrants for the Country People to come in to work in the Town, which Coll. *Morgan* and *Birch* underſtanding, they march from *Gloceſter* to *Hereford* in one night with about 2000 Horſe and Foot, and picking out ſome luſty Fellows, they clothed them in the habit of Countrey

trey Labourers, and one of them ſeemed to be a Conſtable with a Warrant in his hand to bring theſe Fellows to work according to the Governors Orders; 150 Firelocks were lodged in the dark as near the City as poſſible, & another Body to ſecond them; ſo the Bridge is let down, the ſuppoſed Conſtable and his Conſorts enter, and preſently take an occaſion to quarrel with the Guard, and kill 3 of them; Then come in the Firelocks, and after Collonel *Birch*, and laſtly Coll. *Morgan* with the whole Body, theſe ſoon maſtered the unaware ſurprized Garriſon with ſmall loſs on either ſide, wherein were 11 Pieces of Ordnance, much Arms and Ammunition, the L. *Brudenel* and Judge *Jenkyns*, 14 Knights, 4 Lieutenants, 3 Captains, 100 other Officers and Gentlemen, with which Action *Morgan* and *Birch* gained much honour.

Cheſter had been long beſieged, and much of the Kings Hope was repoſed in that City, the L. *Byron* was Governor, and Sir *William Brereton* lay long before it, but now is taken by the Parliamentarians, after a Reſolute Fight, 100 Royaliſts being ſlain, and 400 taken Priſoners; whereupon the Town was ſurrendred upon Honourable Conditions; About which time the *Court of Wards and Liveries is* voted down by the Parliament. The King being come to *Newark* as a place of greateſt ſecurity, a ſtrange quarrel happened amongſt the great ones there, concerning the Lord *Digby* lately defeated at *Sherburn*, whom M. Gen. *Charles Gerard* charged with Treaſon; with him ſided the 2 Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, the L. *Hawly* and Sir *Rich. Willis*, but *Bellaſis* the Governor ſtood up for *Digby* with divers others; The Contention grew hot, from words they come to Swords, and the King coming in to part them, increaſed the Feud by ſiding for *Digby*; whereupon P. *Rupert* and the reſt of the Contrary Party to the number of 400, in much diſguſt laid down their Commiſſions, and depart to another place, where they ſtand upon their Guard, and ſo the King departs for *Oxford* with a Guard of 300 Horſe, whom *Poyns* meets with at their return, and routs them,

and

and then takes in *Belvoir Caſtle*, and not long after the Counteſs of *Derby* ſurrenders up her Houſe at *Latham* to the Parliament. The King at *Oxford*, with P. *Rupert* and M*aurice* now reconciled, was blockt up by the Parliaments Forces; whereupon he commands a Faſt to be obſerved every *Fryday* during his Troubles.

In the mean time a Treaty was agitated between the King and Parliament, the King deſiring to come to a *Perſonal* Treaty with the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, and with ſome likelyhood of a good effect; when all was blaſted on a ſudden by a diſcovery of certain Tranſactions between the King and the *Iriſh*, gathered out of ſeveral Letters taken at *Sherburn* in the L. *Digby*'s Coach, and others found in the *Pockets* of the Biſhop of *Traine* ſlain at the Battel of *Sleigo* in *Ireland*; All which Tranſactions were repreſented with very untoward Reflections upon the Kings Honour and Credit, as if the King to get ſupplies from the *Iriſh* Rebels, reſolved to make *Peace* with them upon any terms, though never ſo diſhonourable, that is, *The granting them an abſolute Toleration of Religion, the allowing them power to chuſe a Governor of their own, the intruſting them with ſeveral Caſtles and Forts for their Caution*; And to aggravate the matter the more, a Commiſſion directed to the Earl of *Clanrickard* is produced, which made ſhew of ſome Clandeſtine negotiations between His Majeſty and the Earl about concluding a *Peace* with the Rebels.

In anſwer to which the King in two Meſſages, the firſt of *January* 17 the other of *Jan.* 24. *remonſtrates to them how ill a ground theſe Allegations were for them to refuſe to come to a Treaty of* Peace *with him, ſince their Diſloyalty in taking up Arms againſt their lawful Soveraign compelled him to take ſuch courſes for the vindicating and defending his* Perſon *and Rights as were no way grateful to him, it being his greateſt deſire to put a Period to theſe unhappy differences, and the effuſion of any more* Chriſtian Blood; *and for the* Commiſſion *to the Earl of* Clanrickard, *he endeavoured to give them ſatisfaction by his Meſſage of* January 29. *wherein he declared that the Earl having without His Majeſties knowledge*

ledge, or the order and consent of the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland *made Conditions with the Commissioners of the* Roman Catholicks, *very much to the derogation of his Honour, and the prejudice of the* Protestant Religion, *he was so far from owning what was transacted by the said Earl in this kind, that he had not the least notice of the Earls treating with those* Commissioners, *much less of his concluding those Articles with them, so prejudicial to Religion and His Majesties Honour, till such time as he had advertisement of his being arrested and restrained for his Presumption; His Commission being only for raising what Forces he could there, and conducting them over hither for His Majesties Service; It is not denied but that the* Marquess of Ormond *had a Commission granted him to Treat about a Peace with the* Irish; *but it was as much for the ease and Relief of the* Protestant *Subjects, as for any other respects, they having been harassed with continual War, and but sparingly supplyed with those Aids which they had been so liberally promised.*

Thus did the King labour to remove all Objections that might give them any Occasion of cavil against him, and thereby obstruct their coming to a Treaty of Peace with him, and notwithstanding his former Messages were wholly neglected and unanswered, he sent them another, *Jan.* 29. still pressing his former desires; yet all came to nothing, the Parliaments Commissioners when they came to treat, being bound up so strictly to the rigour of their demands, though the King offered *To come to the Houses in Person upon assurance of his safety, and to advise with them for the good and safety of the Kingdom, provided all that have adhered to His Majesty may have liberty to go to their own homes in safety, and their Sequestrations to be taken off, upon which condition the King was willing to disband all his Souldiers, dismantle his Garrisons, and pass an Act of Oblivion and free pardon to all:* But these things being not consented to, the hopes of Reconciliation vanished.

The Town of *Monmouth* was now taken by the Parliaments Forces, and soon after *Dartmouth* Town and Castle were yielded to Sir *Tho. Fairfax*; in the Town were 12 Guns,

12 Guns, and proportionable Ammunition, in the Caſtle 120 Ordinance mounted, and 2 Men of War before it were taken; ſhortly after a *French* Veſſel, not knowing the Town was taken, ſtruck into *Dartmouth* with a pacquet of Letters from the Queen, which being ſeized, diſcovered the whole Negotiation of the King with *France*; Then *Hopton* is routed at *Tonnington*; and *Saltaſh* and *Mount Edgcomb* are reduced, and Prince *Charles* finding the purſuit ſo hot, imbarqued for *Scilly*; all things ſucceeded, ſo happily with *Fairfax*, that after ſeveral Succeſſes, the L. *Hopton* deſired a ceſſation; but *Fairfax* ſummons him to lay down Arms, upon which enſued a Treaty at *Treſilian* Bridge, *Fairfax* quartering at *Truro*, and the L. *Hopton* further Weſtward, where at length, *March* 13. theſe Articles were agreed upon: *That the L.* Hopton *ſhould disband his Army in the Weſt, and himſelf ſhould have* 50 *of his own, and* 50 *of* Fairfax's *Horſe for his Convoy to* Oxford; *all Strangers to have Paſſes to go beyond Seas, and carry with them what is their own, without Horſes and Arms*; *All* Engliſh *Officers to go home to their habitations, or if they will, beyond Sea, each Colloniel to have his Horſe and 2 Men and Horſes to wait on them*; *each Captain one Man and Horſe*; *the Troopers Twenty Shillings a piece, and to go where they pleaſe.* But *Hopton* hearing of the Effects of the Propoſitions of Peace, changed his courſe from *Oxford*, and ſailed into *France*; After the diſbanding theſe Forces, all the Kings Garriſons and Forts in *Cornwall* yielded, except *Pendennis Caſtle*, and St. *Michaels Mount*, and *Fairfax* returned to the Siege at *Exeter*.

The Kings Forces in the mean time had not been idle, but moved up and down in flying parties to their beſt advantage: The King, the D. of *York*, P. *Rupert*, and P. *Maurice* were at *Oxford*, cloſely ſurrounded by the Parliaments Forces, their Horſe being about *Farrington*, expecting the L. *Aſhly* with his Foot to join with them; but he was met by Sir *Wm. Brereton*, and Col. *Morgan* at *Stow* in the *Wold*, upon the Edge of *Gloceſter*, where he was totally defeated, and himſelf taken priſoner, 1500 Horſe and Foot, with his Baggage, Ammunition, and

ſome

ſome of the Kings Letters. But in *Scotland* the King's Affairs ſucceeded better this Year, where the Earl of *Montroſs* proſpered incredibly, defeating the Covenanters in ſeveral Battles; yet his proſperity was ſhort lived, for the *Highlanders*, *Iriſh*, and others leaving him, *David Leſley*, whom the Covenanters had privately ſent for out of *England*, came upon him with 6000 Men, moſt Horſe, and put him to Flight; and the next year the King having intruſted himſelf with the *Scots* Army in *England*, ſent an Herald to *Montroſs* with command to lay down Arms and disband, and to paſs over into *France* till His Majeſties further pleaſure, which Orders he readily obeyed; and by this means the *Covenanters* were at leiſure to put ſome of their capital Enemies to death, and to quarrel with the Parliament about ſome differences at that time ariſing.

The next year 1646. The Commons begin with diſabling all Members abſent with the King, from ever ſitting in the Houſe, and impower the Speaker to give Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown for new Elections in their Places; the Prince of *Wales* being in *Scilly*, the Parliament invite him to come to them, but he would not venture; After which ſome Overtures were made for a Peace, but all came to nothing; the King had formerly offered to come to the Parliament in order to a *Perſonal Treaty*, which not being reliſhed by the Parliament, divers ſevere Orders are iſſued out againſt the Kings Party; and now the War is almoſt brought to a Period, for the Kings Forces being beaten out of the Field, the Garriſons ſurrender apace, *Dennington Caſtle*, St. *Michaels Mount*, *Ruthen Caſtle*, *Woodſtock*, and others yield to the Parliament; *Exeter* after a long Siege is delivered to *Fairfax* upon Articles, and ſoon after *Barneſtable* alſo; and now Gen. *Fairfax* reſolves to march for *Oxford*, which put the King upon thoughts of providing for his own ſafety, and therefore *April* 13. he came out of *Oxford* in diſguiſe with Mr. *Hudſon* a Miniſter, and Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, whoſe ſervant he perſonated, and got to the *Scots* Army before *Newark*, *May* 6. whereupon

divers

divers Noblemen, as if they had been deſerted by the King yielded to *Fairfax*: but Sir *Tho. Glenham* the Governor ſtill held out the City, and upon being ſummoned, deſired to ſend to the King about it, which being refuſed, after a Treaty of ſome weeks it was delivered up to *Fairfax* on very honourable Terms; P. *Rupert*, P. *Maurice* and divers others tranſporting themſelves beyond Sea. In the City were found 70 Barrels of Powder, 38 Pieces of Ordnance, whereof 26 Braſs, and great Proviſions of Victual. The Duke of *York* was carried to St. *James*'s, where he met with his Siſter the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, who had been ſent thither from the ſurrender of *Exeter*, but was ſhortly after conveyed over into *France* by her Governeſs the Lady *Dalkeith*.

Oxford being taken, it was in vain for the leſſer Garriſons to ſtand out, and thereupon news comes daily of the ſurrenders of *Banbury*, *Borſtall*, *Carnarvan*, *Ludlow*, *Litchfield*, *Worceſter*, *Wallingford*, *Gothridg*, *Pendennis Caſtle*, *and Ragland Caſtle*; The *Scots* alſo were at laſt perſuaded to ſet down before *Newark*, and the Beſieged make frequent Sallies on their Enemies, killing and taking many; But the King being come to the *Scottiſh* Camp, ſends in his deſires to Governor *Bellaſis* to deliver up the Town to the *Engliſh*, in obedience whereunto it was upon honourable conditions ſurrendred to Coll. *Poyns*; In *May* 1646. The Seals being ſent from *Oxford* to *Weſtminſter*, were according to the Vote of the Two Houſes broken in the Houſe of Lords in the preſence of the Commons; The War in *England* being now after much bloodſhed brought to ſome end, the Parliament were at leiſure to diſpute with the *Scots* concerning their keeping of the King; who fearing leaſt *Fairfax* ſhould fall upon them, and compel them to deliver him up, retreated farther Northward to *Newcaſtle*; The Parliament ſent a ſecond Invitation to the Prince of *Wales* to come to *London*, with promiſe of Honour and ſafety, but he did not think fit to venture; *Sept.* 14. the Earl of *Eſſex* died of an Apoplexy, and the Parliament in reſpect to his former Services voted 3000 pound to be given toward his Funeral,

which was performed with great *Pomp*; ſoon after Gen. *Fairfax* marches to *London*, being met by the City Trained Bands, and had the publick Thanks of both Houſes, and a Congratulation from the L. Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of the City.

The King ſends from *Newcaſtle* to the Parliament about a Treaty, and the Houſe of Commons vote, *That the Kings Perſon ſhould be demanded of the* Scots, *and that their whole Army return home upon receipt of part of their Arrears, the reſt to be ſent after them*, and a Committee is appointed to Treat with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, about drawing up *Propoſitions* to be ſent to the King, wherein much time was ſpent in wrangling, whil'ſt the *Engliſh* deny the *Scots* to have any Right in the diſpoſal of the King of *England*, and the *Scots* as ſtiffly alledged, *He was their King as much as of the* Engliſh, *and they had as good Right to diſpoſe of the King in* England *as the* Engliſh *could challenge in* Scotland; But at laſt they agreed on 16 General Propoſitions, which were preſented to the King at *Newcaſtle*, *July* 27. 1646. by the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Pembroke*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Hipſly*, Mr. *Goodwin*, and Mr. *Robinſon*, who were limited to 10 days. The King returned anſwer, *That their Propoſitions imported ſo great an alteration of Government both in Church and State, derogated ſo much from his Prerogative, and impoſed ſuch hard* Conditions *upon him in reference to his Friends and Adherents, and likewiſe that their* Commiſſioners *were ſo bound from any capacity either of giving Reaſons for their demands they brought, or giving ear to ſuch deſires as His Majeſty ſhould propound, that it was impoſſible for him with any ſatisfaction to his Conſcience to give ſuch an Anſwer to their Propoſitions as that thereby a well grounded Peace might enſue*; And withal he urges his deſire of coming to *London* there to Treat Perſonally; But this deſire however reaſonable they refuſe, nor would permit the *French* King to interpoſe by his Ambaſſador.

The *Scots* General Aſſembly ſend a Remonſtrance to the King, deſiring him to ſettle matters in *England* according to the *Covenant*, and Chancellor *Lowdon* told him plainly;

plainly; *That there was no other means for him to close with his two Houses, and that unless he did it, if he lost* England, *he should not be admitted to come and reign in* Scotland; But all this could not prevail, and therefore the *Scots* who had hitherto so sharply disputed about the disposal of his Person, are content upon the Receipt of Two Hundred Thousand Pound to depart home, and leave the King in the power of the Parliament; who voted him to *Holmby* House, and sent their Commissioners the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Denbigh*, L. *Montague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Holyland*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Cook*, Mr. *Crew*, and M. G. *Brown*, to receive him from the *Scots* at *Newcastle*, to whom *February* 8. 1646. he was accordingly delivered, and leaving *Newcastle* in the possession of the *English*, they marched homeward; *Feb.* 8. The King sad and sorrowful sets forward with the Commissioners for *Holmby*, attended with 900 Horse, and after a fortnight came to his Journies end, being met by the way by General *Fairfax*, and many of his Officers.

The Parliament now freed from all opposition, break out among themselves, dividing into several Parties under the Title of *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, and *March* 19. a Vote was passed for disbanding part of the Army, and dismantling many Garrisons, which much discontented the Army, who knowing their own Power, drew near to *London* and *Westminster*, and frame a Petition, whereat the City being startled, they likewise draw up their Petition and pray, *That the Parliament would Command that the Army be forthwith removed, and after with all speed disbanded, and that the City may make yearly Election of their own Militia*; and so ends this year.

In *Ireland* all things had gone to wrack for these last 4 years; But now the Parliament send over Col. *Monk* with about 2000 Horse and Foot, who had some successes against the *Irish*; but the Parliament resolving to prosecute the War vigorously, send over 8400 Foot besides Officers, with 3000 Horse, and 1200 Dragoons; All which were taken out of General *Fairfax*'s Army, which caused much animosity between the Army and Parlia-

ment, and though men might reaſonably have expected that the 23d year of his Majeſties Reign ſhould have begun with a Sunſhine of ſettlement, ſo deſirable after ſuch ſtorms of War, yet ſuch hopes were blaſted by theſe Diſſentions; the Army being offended with the Parliament for diſbanding them, and being incouraged by pretended Petitions from ſeveral Counties to the General, not to diſband till the Peace of the Kingdom were fully ſetled; They drew up a Petition which was preſented to the Parliament by Lieu. Gen. *Hammond* and others, *Deſiring proviſion for Pardon and Indemnity*; *Their Arrears to be paid*; *That the Foot Souldiers may not be preſt out of the Kingdom, nor Horſemen ſerve on Foot, that the Widows and Children of ſuch as were ſlain in their ſervice might be provided for, and that they may receive Pay to diſcharge their Quarters, and not burthen the Country till the Army be diſbanded*, This offended the Parliament, who declared their high diſlike of it, and Voted, *That ſuch as continued in this way of Acting ſhould be proceeded againſt as Enemies of the State.*

Some Petitions from *Eſſex* and other places are preſented to the Parliament, inveighing againſt the proceedings of the Army; which much vexes the Souldiers, who ſharply Apologize for themſelves, and utterly refuſe the ſervice of *Ireland* till ſatisfaction were given to their Deſires; the difference was likely to have grown wider, but to cloſe the Breach, Commiſſioners are choſen on both ſides to procure a right underſtanding; But the Army judged that it would be to their advantage if they could get the King into their hands, and therefore *June* 3 1647. Cornet *Joyce* was ſent to *Holmby* with 500 Horſe, who brought away the King from thence with the Parliaments Commiſſioners, who would by no means leave him, promiſing him, *That he ſhould have no violence offered to his Perſon*; *That his Trunks and Papers ſhould not be rifled nor tumbled*; *That he ſhould be attended with ſuch ſervants againſt whom there could be no juſt exception, and that nothing ſhould be impoſed on him contrary to his Conſcience*; And ſo he was conveyed to *Childerſly*, and thence by his

own

own desire to *New-market*; This the General certifies in a Letter to the Parliament, affirming it to be done without his consent, and that the reason alledged by the Actors was, because certain Persons had designed to take away his Majesty, thereby to gather strength to make a new War, which they were able and ready to prove.

And now the Army to the great terror of the Parliament march toward *London*, and come to St. *Albans*, notwithstanding a Message from both Houses not to come within 25 miles of the City; which the General excuses, saying, *That the Army was come thither before they received the Parliaments desire*; And here he obtains a Months Pay; the Parliament vote, *That the General be required to deliver the Person of the King to the former Commissioners, who were to bring him to* Richmond, *that propositions of Peace might be speedily presented to his Majesty, and that Coll.* Rossiter *and his Regiment might guard his Person*; To this the Army would not consent, and therefore sent up their Representation, with these Proposals as the only effectual means to procure a stable settlement; *That the Houses may be speedily purged of such as ought not to sit there; That such who abused the Parliament and Army, and indanger the Kingdom, may be speedily disabled from doing the like or worse; That some determinate time may be set to this and future Parliaments, according to the intent of the Act for Triennial Parliaments, that Provision may be made they may not be Adjourned nor Prorogued without their own consent, during such a certain time, and then to determine themselves; That the Freedom of the People (to prevent Grievances) by Petitioning the Parliament, may be vindicated. That the exorbitant power of Countrey Committees may be taken away; That the Kingdom may be satisfied in the Parliaments Accounts for the vast Sums received, and also in divers other things wherein the Commonwealth hath been abused; That after Delinquents have passed their Compositions, an Act of* Oblivion *may be passed.*

The Parliament being divided into 2 Parties, the *Independants* countenanced the Army, and the *Presbyterians* the City in a high manner against the Army; of whom

they would fain have rid themſelves, by ſending a great part of them into *Ireland*, and diſbanding all the reſt; to prevent which, they had in readineſs an Impeachment againſt 11 of them; *For retarding the relief of* Ireland; *For acting many things againſt the Laws and Liberties of the people, and for obſtructing the* Courts *of Juſtice*, all which was offered to be proved againſt them; their names were *Denzil Hollis* Eſq; Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clothworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, Major General *Maſſey*, Mr. *Glyn* Recorder of *London*, Coll. *Walter Long*; Coll. *Edward Harley*, and *Anthony Nichols* Eſq; And with this Charge they delivered in a Paper; deſiring the accuſed Members to be forthwith ſuſpended from ſitting in the Houſe; this was judged a great intrenchment upon Parliament; but the Army perſiſting, the 11 Members firſt forbore the Houſe, and afterward obtained leave to Travel for ſix months; yet to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Parliament, the Army removed further off from *London*, having the King continually near them, who had a great deſire to ſee his Children, which he obtained by a Letter from *Fairfax* to the Parliament. The 11 Members being gone, the Army part in the Houſe of Commons began to prevail, for a Vote was paſſed for taking the *London Militia* out of the hands of the City, and transferring it to others better affected to the Army; and it was made Treaſon to procure Subſcriptions to Petitions; upon which great multitudes of Apprentices, and others flockt to *Weſtminſter* in a mutinous manner, clamouring at the Parliament doors, and requiring, *That Vote ſhould be repealed before the Members ſhould paſs out of the Houſe*, and forcing the Speaker back into the Chair, conſtrained him and them to ſit till they extorted this Vote from them; *That the King ſhould come to* London, *and the City have their* Militia *reſtor'd to them*; And then the Parliament adjourned for four days.

The General who for the eaſe of the Countrey was removed to *Bedford*, hearing of this, marches up towards *London*, and ſends before him a Letter to the L. Mayor and

and Aldermen, wherein he ſignifies his Reſentment of the late outrage, and requires Juſtice to be done on the offenders; in his way at *Hounſlow* he is met with by the Speakers of both Houſes, and ſuch of the Members as ſided with the Army, who complained of the affront and injurious violence offered them, and there they conſult together how to get the City without blood; In the mean time the contrary party meet together in Parliament, and chuſe new Speakers, the 11 Members being again admitted, and the firſt thing done is, the confirming the laſt extorted Votes, and to put the City in a poſture of defence, ordering Souldiers to be liſted, & M.G. *Maſſey*, Col. *Poyns*, & Sir *W. Waller* to have the command of them, and the Citizens publiſhed a Declaration againſt the Army, yet were not matters ſo clearly carryed, but upon *Fairfax*'s approach, many diſſentions aroſe in their Counſels; and at *Guildhall* they fell from words to blows, divers being wounded and ſome ſlain, and laſtly the Court of Aldermen conclude to write to the General, excuſing themſelves, and charging the fault upon ſome particular Perſons; *Fairfax* ſends a Brigade under *Rainsborough* and *Hewſon* over *Kingſton* Bridge to *Southwark*, who take in the great Fort on the Highway to *Lambeth*; The Common Council ſpeed away many Meſſages for a pacification, which the General with the conſent of the Members of Parliament then preſent granted, upon condition, *That they ſhould deſert the Parliament then ſitting, and the* 11 *Impeached Members, and to deliver up the Tower and their other Forts*; which they were glad to ſubmit to; preſently a Declaration was publiſhed for making void all Acts paſſed by the Members at *Weſtminſter*, ſince *July* 26 laſt paſt.

Auguſt 6. 1647. General *Fairfax* marched in Triumph to *Weſtminſter*, and re-eſtabliſhed the diſturbed Members of Parliament, receiving their publick Thanks for vindicating them from the injurious uſage, as they complained, of the Citizens, and the next day he marched through the City with his whole Army, being Twenty Thouſand Horſe and Foot to the *Tower*, and a Months pay was given to the Army as a Gratuity for

their good ſervice in ſuppreſſing the late Inſurrection, but the Exciſe was thought fit to be continued; The General had his head Quarters at *Kingſton*, and the King was ſetled at *Hampton Court* with his Children about him, whither the Earl of *Ormond* repaired to him, having by his Command quitted his Government in *Ireland* to the Parliaments Commiſſioners; Inquiry being *now* made into the Actors and Fomenters of the late Tranſactions, they were proceeded againſt at the diſcretion of the Judges; Mr. *Glyn* was turned out of his Recorderſhip, Sir *Joh. Maynard*, was Impeached of Treaſon, *Hollis*, *Waller*, *Clotworthy*, *Maſſey*, *Long and Nichols* were ſummoned to attend the Houſe, *October* 16. Sir *John Gayer* Lord Mayor, and 4 Aldermen, *Culham*, *Bunch*, *Langham* and *Adams* were accuſed and committed to the *Tower*, and the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Suffolk* and *Middleſex*, with the L. *Berkly*, *Maynard*, *Hunſden*, and *Willoughby* of *Parham* were committed to the Black Rod; But care was now taken to pull down the pride of the City; for both Houſes Order the caſting down of all the works about it, and the dividing their *Militia*, impowering the City of *Weſtminſter*, the Burrough of *Southwark*, and the *Hamlets* about the *Tower*, each to have its diſtinct *Militia* of itſelf.

The Army being much behind in Arrears, petition the Parliament, who upon conſideration, order them ſome money at the preſent, and then drew up propoſitions of peace to be ſent to the King at *Hampton Court*, the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe offered at *Newcaſtle*, and had the like effect, the buſineſs of Epiſcopacy being always the main objection, which the Parliament were reſolved to aboliſh, and the King preferring the ſatisfaction of his Conſcience before all other reſpects, would rather loſe all than conſent thereto; and in his anſwer of *Septem.* 9. ſeemed rather to incline to the Army than Parliament, which giving them great occaſion of diſtaſt, is thought to have contributed much to his prejudice; about this time the Parliament vote Six Thouſand Foot, and Two Thouſand four hundred Horſe, and Dragoons

to

to be ſent into *Ireland*, and Seven Thouſand Two Hundred Horſe, and a Thouſand Dragoons to be kept as a ſtanding Army in *England*; Soon after the Officers to provide for themſelves, elected out of every Regiment a certain number of Souldiers to meet and conſult, by the name of *Agitators*; who together draw up a large Letter to *Fairfax*, full of Complements, deſiring, *That he would take ſome courſe to ſettle the Nation in Peace, and to ſecure thoſe who had fought againſt the King, from ſtanding in any need of asking him Pardon, or receiving Indemnity from him; That Parliaments may be determined to certain periods of time, and that care be taken for due Election of Members for the future, and for the payment of the Armies Arrears, that they may not be burthenſome to the Countrey,* To whom Sir *Thomas* anſwers, *That he had a good opinion of the honeſty of their Intentions, and referred their deſires to the General Council of Officers.*

The *Scots* Commiſſioners ſend a Letter, *Nov.* 6. 1647. to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and require, *That the King may be admitted to a Perſonal Treaty, or at leaſt that he ſhould not be carried from* Hampton *Court violently, as he was from* Holmby *Houſe, but that Commiſſioners of both Parliaments may freely paſs to and from him, to Treat for the ſettlement of the Kingdoms*; This put the Parliament upon preparing new Propoſitions; During which time the King is informed, that his Perſon was in ſome hazard by the *Agitators*, who were contriving ſome deſign to take away his life, whereupon he conſults with Sir *John Berkly*, Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Coll. *William Legg* how to prevent the danger, and among them it is reſolved to eſcape to the Iſle of *Jerſy*, to which end a Ship is prepared to take him in about *Southampton*, and Horſes are lodged near *Hampton Ferry*; And thus *November* 11. withdrawing himſelf, as uſual, before Evening Prayer, he with his 3 forementioned Confidents eſcaped to his Horſes by the way of *Paradiſe*, a place ſo called in the Garden, and rid away, leaving behind him a Letter to the Parliament, which was afterward delivered them, wherein he promiſed to break through this Cloud of retirement, and

ſhew himſelf to be really a Father of his Countrey, if he might be heard with Freedom, Honour and ſafety; but the King coming to the Seaſhore, found himſelf diſappointed of the Ship; whereupon it was concluded, that the King and Coll. *Legg* ſhould go to the Counteſs Dowager of *Southamptons* houſe at *Tedſworth*, whil'ſt the L. *Berkly* and *Aſhburnham* ferried over to the *Iſle of Wight* to Governor *Hammond*, of whom the King had ſome hopes, becauſe of his Brother Dr. *Hammond*, who was his Majeſties Chaplain, to whom they were to ſignify in General, *That the King having eſcaped from eminent danger of Aſſaſſination was willing to caſt himſelf upon his fidelity if he would ingage upon Oath for the ſafety and Liberty of his Perſon*; *Hammond* would ingage for his ſafety, but not for his Liberty, and they fearing to be taken into Cuſtody, came over with him to the Ladies Houſe, where the King was; who found he was neceſſitated to caſt himſelf with an unwilling willingneſs upon Coll. *Hammonds* Protection; who preſently certifies the Parliament of it, and they being well contented therewith; ordered his continuance there, with the ſame attendance, and no other, that he had at *Hampton Court*.

The King being at *Carrisbroke Caſtle* writes a Letter to the Parliament, and another to the *Scots* Commiſſioners, wherein he profeſſes, *That he cannot either as a Chriſtian or a King conſent to the aboliſhing Epiſcopal Hierarchy, becauſe he judged it Apoſtolical, and had ſworn at his Coronation to maintain it, but he was willing that the Presbyterian Government ſhould continue for three years, and a free debate to be had between the Divines Aſſembled at* Weſtminſter, *and* 20 *that he ſhould appoint, about the ſettlement of Church Government for the Future*; *He is alſo willing that the Parliament ſhall diſpoſe of the* Militia, *and have the choice of his Privy* Councellors *during his Reign*; *provided they have it by Grant of Patent from him, and that it return to his Succeſſors, and he is willing that the Arrears of the Army ſhoula be paid, and he will be ready to uſe his utmoſt endeavour for the raiſing of ſo much money*; Theſe and ſome other propoſals he made, promiſing likewiſe to ſatisfy *Scotland* when he ſhall receive his de-

desires; and still he pressed for a *Personal Treaty*, which the Parliament refuse, yet after three days debate they were content to admit of it, provided he would sign these 4 Bills. 1. *That it be lawful for the future to order the* Militia *without the Kings Consent, to raise what Armies they please; All others under pain of Treason to be prohibited to assemble to the number of* 30 *Persons without Authority of Parliament.* 2. *That it be lawful for the* 2 *Houses to sit, or adjourn their sitting to what place they please, and to assemble at what time soever at their own discretion.* 3. *That all Oaths, Interdictions and Declarations, set forth in publick against either of the Houses, be accounted and declared voyd.* 4. *Whomsoever of the Nobility the King hath dignified with Titles from the time himself departed, and carried away the Great Seal of the Kingdom, that they shall be degraded of their Honours; and these* 4 *Bills to be passed into Acts.*

These Propositions were carryed to the King by the Earl of *Denbigh*, L. *Montague*, Mr. *Lisle*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Kemp*, and Mr. *Bunkley*; But the *Scots* Commissioners follow, and protest against them, as too much intrenching on the Kings Honour, and contrary to the Parliaments former engagements, and protestation; And so the King refused to sign them, desiring the Commissioners to tell the 2 Houses, that there were different Interests to be complied with, namely, the Parliament, the Army and the Scots, and therefore he requested, that some means might be found out to give content to all these, without which a well grounded Peace could never be established. The Kings refusal so offended the Commons, that they put it to the vote; *Whether any more Addresses should be made to him*, and after a long debate it was Resolved. 1. *That no Addresses shall be hereafter made to him by the Parliament of England.* 2. *That none shall under pain of Treason make any Addresses without leave from the Parliament.* 3. *That no written Paper, Message or Declaration be received from his Majesty on penalty of Treason*; which votes were so well resented of the Army, that having now no further need of their *Agitators*, they reduce them into Order, and publish a Declaration wherein they ap-

approve of the Commons Proceedings, and their Reſolution to adhere, and ſtand by them in their votes, even againſt the King himſelf, or any other that ſhall join with him; which the Lords perceiving, after many days tugging about it, they at laſt aſſented to the votes of the Houſe of Commons; In the mean time Coll. *Hammond* had turned away the Kings Servants, and uſed him a little more ſeverely than formerly, which occaſioned a Mutiny at *Newport*, the chief Town in the *Iſle of Wight* where one Cap *Burleigh* beat up a drum for the Kings ſervice and delivery, but was ſoon ſuppreſſed, himſelf taken Priſoner, and afterward hang'd, drawn and quartered as a Traitor; and more Forces are ſent at Coll. *Hammonds* requeſt to ſecure the Iſland.

And now both Houſes vote, that the Committee of *Derby* Houſe have a full power to tranſact the buſineſs of the whole Kingdom, and to diſpoſe as they ſhall think fit of the Army commanded by Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, who is now impowered to place and diſplace the Kings Attendants, provided he allow him not above 30. and ſoon after he becomes Lord *Fairfax* by the death of his Father; about this time Judge *Jenkyns* was brought to the Bar of the Houſe, where he refuſed to kneel; His Charge was read againſt him; *That he had paſſed ſentence againſt men to be hanged, drawn, and Quartered for not aſſiſting againſt the Parliament*; *That he took up Arms himſelf, and ſtirred up others againſt them, and had charged them with Counterfeiting the Great Seal*; which he was ſo far from denying or any way extenuating, that he boldly owned all, and more than they accuſed him of, endeavouring to terrify them with the numerouſneſs of the Royal Iſſue; and ſo provoked the Houſe with his Deportment & words, that he was fined a Thouſand Pounds, and the Houſe voted a charge to be brought in againſt him; the Marqueſs of *Ormond* after ſeveral Capitulations had yielded up the *Iriſh* Government into the hands of the Parliament, by whom Coll. *Jones* was ſent over with 1450 Horſe and Foot, who took poſſeſſion of *Dublin*, *June* 17. and is made Governor of the City at the ſame time tha.

that Sir *Charles Coot* defeated a Party of the *Iriſh*; and not to be Idle, he marches out with 3000 men againſt Gen. *Preſton*, who being 8000 ſtrong routed him, and put him to flight, doing much execution upon his Forces in 4 miles purſuit; but *Aug.* 8. they came to a ſecond encounter near *Trym*, where Coll. *Jones* revenged his former defeat, beat *Preſton* out of his Bogg; killed 5470 Foot Souldiers, and 300 of the Gentry, took 7000 Arms, 4 pieces of Canon, and great pillage, with 150 Oxen, and improving his Victory, takes 13 other conſiderable Caſtles; ſoon after the Lord *Inchequin* gave a defeat to another Party of the *Iriſh* in *Munſter*, killing and taking 4000 men; ſo that now the Parliament having no need of the *Scottiſh* Forces in *Ulſter*, were very earneſt to have them recalled.

The year 1648. and the 24th of His Majeſties Reign begins with the viſitation of the univerſity of *Oxford* by the new Chancellor the Earl of *Pembroke*, not without much reſiſtance; for the Heads and Principals would neither own the authority nor the Covenant, for which many of them were outed, their places, and others put in, and the Parliament vote, *That all thoſe who willnot ſubmit to their power ſhall be expelled the Univerſity, and all the Colledge Rents to be paid to the Viſitors by them appointed.* This Summer the King though a Priſoner was as formidable as ever ſince the late Troubles, the very name of a King proving ſufficient to raiſe conſiderable Armies; *London* itſelf was not free from Mutiny, for *April* 9. the Apprentices ſet upon part of the Trained Bands, whom they overpowered, und increaſing hourly, divided into Parties; one whereof made toward *Whitehall*, but were repreſſed by the Horſe Guards at the *Mews*, yet at night they join again, ſurprize *Newgate* and *Ludgate*, and ſhut up the Gates; then they ſeized a ſmall Ordnance from the L. Mayors Houſe, which they place within *Ludgate*, the next morning they break open ſome Gunſmiths Shops for Arms and Ammunition, and maſtered the Magazine at *Leadenhall*, crying out *for God and King* Charles; But the next day General *Fairfax* entred *Alderſgate* with

with 2 Regiments, marched to *Leadenhall Street*, and there charged the undiſciplined multitude, who after a ſhort tumultuary ſkirmiſh, were utterly diſperſed with little or no loſs.

But in *Wales* Coll. *Poyer* Governor of *Pembroke* Caſtle, refuſed to deliver up his charge upon demand without full payment of his Arrears and M. G. *Langhorn* for the ſame reaſon denied to diſband his men, and ſo both revolt, and *Langhorn* ſurprizes *Tenby* Caſtle with the Parliaments Commiſſioners in it, and now they grow bold, commanding contribution round about, and declare for the King. Coll. *Horton* is ſent Commander in chief againſt them with 30 Companies of Horſe and Foot, who ſends out Col. *Flemming* to gain a paſs from *Poyer*, which he finds quitted to his hands, but going on, improvidently falls into *Poyers* Ambuſcado, by whom he is totally routed, and forced to fly with a few others to a Neighbouring Church, which finding himſelf unable to defend, he died as it is thought by his own Sword, and the reſt were taken Priſoners; This ſucceſs was attended with another; *Chepſtow* Caſtle being taken by Sir *Tho. Kemish* in the Governors abſence; But now the Tide turns, for news comes that Lieu. Gen. *Cromwel* is advancing with a ſtrong power to ſuppreſs them; which makes *Langhorn* reſolve to fight *Horton* before his coming; who as willingly marched to meet him, and *May* 8. near S. *Fagons*, views his Enemy near 8000 ſtrong, but in diſorder and unready to Fight. In this condition Col. *Horton* charged them, and obtained an eaſy victory, killed ſome, took 1500 Officers, and 5000 common Souldiers Priſoners, *Langhorn* and *Powel* eſcaped by Flight. *Cromwell* enters *Wales*, ſtorms *Tenby Caſtle*, and has it yielded upon mercy, and *Chepſtow* Caſtle was re-taken by Coll. *Ewer*; but all this could not keep Sir *John Owen* quiet, who whil'ſt *Cromwell* beſieged *Pembroke* Caſtle, got together ſome Forces in *Northwales*, which the County Sheriff would have ſurprized, but being too weak was defeated and taken Priſoner, and ſhortly after the ſame fortune befel *Owen* himſelf by the Forces of M. G. *Mitton*;

n; *Pembroke* Town and Caſtle ſtood out couragiouſly for a long time; but at length were ſo diſtreſſed, that they willingly would have ſurrendred if they could have obtained any other conditions than to yield upon diſcretion; *Cromwell* gives a furious ſtorm, which the Beſieged reſolutely endured; But the *Scottiſh* Invaſion made him more inclinable to Treat, and the Town and Caſtle was delivered upon Articles, *July* 13. *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, and three other principal Actors to ſubmit to the Parliaments mercy, the other Commanders, Knights and Gentlemen, to depart the Kingdom within ſix weeks for 2 years, the reſt to return to their own homes, and the Town to enjoy their Liberties and Freedoms; thoſe that ſubmitted to mercy, were afterward tryed as Traitors, notwithſtanding the Princes Letter to Gen. *Fairfax* on their behalf, only they had the favour to caſt Lots for their Lives, and ſo Col. *Poyer* only ſuffered.

April 20. 1648. the D. of *York* diſguiſed in Womens Apparel, made his eſcape from St. *James*'s by water, and landed at *Dort* in *Holland* by the help of one Col. *Bampfield* ſent over for that purpoſe by the Queen. The Countrey now began to be diſpleaſed, that after ſuch expence of men and money, there was yet no likelyhood of a ſettlement, but rather a fearful expectation of new Wars, and therefore reſolve to Petition; the County of *Eſſex* begins, deſiring the Parliament, *That the Army may be disbanded, and the King admitted to a Perſonal Treaty*; *Surrey* follows, and deſires the like, but only in higher Terms, and being numerous, quarrel with the Souldiers at *Weſtminſter*, and came to blows, ſome hurt was done on both ſides, but night parts the Fray; *London* petitions to the ſame effect, and deſire, *That thoſe Priſoners who ſtood committed for the Inſurrection in* Maſſeys *buſineſs might be releaſed*; as they were ſoon after upon the Cities conſtant adhering to the Parliament, and refuſing to ſend aid to the *Kentiſh* men againſt *Fairfax*; and at their deſire the *Militia* was reſtored, and M. G. *Skippon* was appointed Commander of the City and all the Forces within the late lines of Communication; the Lieut.

of

of the *Tower* was discharged, and Mr. *West* Citizen put in his place, and Col. *Barkstead and Rich* were ordered to draw their Regiments out of *Whitehall* and the *Mews*, instead of which, the Common Council of the City order a Guard for the Parliament, and 600 pound yearly for their Major General; and all this with the Generals free consent and approbation. The *Kentish* men would not petition, but with their Swords in their hands, and were up in Arms in such considerable numbers, that it was thought fit for *Fairfax* himself to march against them, which he doth with 6000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, the *Kentish* men were near 2000, but unadvisedly parted their Forces, and sent away a Brigade to besiege *Dover* Castle; *Fairfax* advances, and defeats some near *Gravesend*, and others at *Northfield*, and the *Kentish* men not being prepared to fight, he comes to *Maidstone*, in which they were drawn up in a Body, the Town strongly man'd, and well provided with Ordnance, and Barricado'd; *Fairfax* having increased his Army to 10000, falls to storming, *June* 2. at 7 at night, whil'st those within fought stoutly both in the streets and from the Houses, so that getting all by Inches, after 6 hours fight, and much loss on his side, *Fairfax* got the victory, 200 *Kentish* were slain, and 1300 Prisoners taken, divers of Quality; 400 Horse, 8 Pieces of Canon with good Booty; *Rochester* after this was surrendred to *Fairfax* upon discretion; many of the *Kentishmen* get together under the old Lord *Goring*, and crossing *Greenwich Ferry* into *Essex*, join with Sir *Charles Lucas*, who had raised 2000 Horse and Foot, and seized the E. of *Warwicks* Armory, and get into *Colchester*, which now becomes the seat of War, and the Country flocked in to them with a party from *London*, and the Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Loughborough* from *Hertfordshire*.

But *Fairfax* leaving Col. *Rich* and *Hewson* to take in those places in *Kent*, which himself had no time to reduce, croft into *Essex*, and came before *Colchester*, surrounding it with a potent Army; the Seamen being now dissatisfied and mutinous, divers Ships with Vice-Ad-

Admiral *Batten* went to Prince *Charles*, who with a conſiderable Fleet ſets to Sea, with his Brother the D. of *York*, P. *Rupert*, the E. of *Brainford*, the Lords *Hopton*, *Wilmot*, *Willoughby*, and *Culpeper*, and others of Quality, and came into *Yarmouth* Road with 20 good Men of War, and 2000 Souldiers, where he would have landed; but hearing of Col. *Scroops* coming againſt him with a Party of Horſe and Foot, he ſailed from thence to the *Downs*, ſeizing what Merchant Ships and Goods he could meet withal, *Deal* Caſtle was at this time beſieged, for the relief whereof, the Prince ſets 500 men aſhore, who at firſt charged handſomely, but being too weak, ſome were taken, others ſlain, and the reſt got on Board again; ſoon after *Sandwich*, *Deal*, *and Weymore* Caſtles were yeilded up, and all *Kent* fully reduced; whil'ſt the Pr. Anchors in the *Downs*, the States of *Scotland* invite him to them, and ingage the publick Faith of that Kingdom for his well being in Honour, Freedom, and ſafety with them and their Army in *England*, or where elſe he pleaſed, but he having written to the Houſe of Lords for promoting the Treaty with the King, and in vain ſummoned the E. of *Warwick* Admiral for the Parliament to ſubmit to him as chief Cap. Gen. under His Majeſty, & wanting Proviſions, return'd back with his Fleet into *Hol.* But the E. of *Holland* being Commiſſioned from the Pr. raiſes Forces juſt in the view of the Parliament at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, aſſiſted by the D. of *Buckingham*, L. *Francis Villiers*, his Brother, and the E. of *Peterborough*, and *July* 2. they muſtered 500 Horſe, and ſome Foot upon *Kingſton* Heath, and from thence marched to *Darking*, deſigning to poſſeſs *Rigate*, but were prevented by Col. *Rich*, and Major *Gibbons*, and therefore retreat from thence toward *Kingſton*, cloſely purſued by the other, and ſending their Foot before, to ſecure their retreat to the Town, they made a ſtand between *Ewel* and *Nonſuch* Park; the Purſuers follow on, the Fight was ſhort and ſmart, the L. *Francis Villiers* refuſing Quarter was ſlain, with Major *Dalbier* and a Son of Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and others; the reſt put to flight, and many Priſoners

Prisoners of note taken; the Earl of *Holland* was taken at St. *Neots* in *Huntingtonshire*, and sent Prisoner to *Warwick* Castle, but the Duke of *Buckingham* escaped beyond Sea.

Colchester holds out couragiously, making frequent Sallies on the Besiegers with some success, hoping for relief from the North; the Parliament of *Scotland* having sate since last *March*, and being disgusted at the Proceedings of the *English* against the King; so that notwithstanding the offers of the Parliament to pay their former Arrears, and their inclination to settle the *Presbyterian* Government here; yet they formed a *Committee of Danger* about *English* Affairs, the Major part whereof being *Hamiltons* Faction, vote a War, which the others protest against, but to no purpose; and now the *Scots* publish their Declaration, the Heads whereof were; *That His Majesty may come to* London, *or to some of his Houses near, and that with safety*; *That reparation be made for carrying him away, or satisfaction by punishing them that did it*; *That the Army under the L.* Fairfax *be disbanded*; *that Presbytery be settled, Sectaries punished*; *that all the Members of the House be restored*; The *Royalists* now flock apace to *Edenburgh*, and *Wogan* a Captain in the *English* Army, revolts to them with his Troop, and 2 Companies of Foot landed out of *Ireland* at *Cheshire*, and marched thither likewise; *Berwick* is surprized by the *Royalists*; Sir *Tho. Glenham*, and Sir P. *Musgrave* raise Forces for the King in *Westmoreland* and *Cumberland*, with which they surprize *Carlile*; and with them joins Sir *Mar. Langdale* with some Horse, he being General of the *English* Army for the King, and now being about 3000 strong, they coast about the Northern Counties; *July* 13 1648. the *Scots* Army entred *England*, the Van led by D. *Hamilton*; the main body by M. G. *Middleton*, and the Reer by the E. of *Calender*, these join with *Langdale*, and fall upon M. G. *Lambert* near *Appleby*, forcing him to retire into the Town, and from thence to *Kirby Steven*, and after to *Bowes*, leaving some of his Forces behind him to defend the Castle, which was besieged, and taken *Aug.* 7.

by

by Sir P. *Muſgrave*; Col. *Boynton* Governor of *Scarborough* Caſtle now declares for the King, and *Pomfret* Caſtle was ſurprized by Major *Morris*; *Tinmouth* Caſtle like wiſe revolts, but was ſoon retaken by Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*.

The *Scots* retreat to *Kendal* in *Weſtmoreland*, and *Lambert* much increaſed his Forces, and *Cromwell* having quieted *Wales*, marches to join with *Lambert*, taking *Pomfret* Town (but not the Caſtle) in his way; *Hamilton* leaves *Kendal*, and marches into *Lancaſhire*, intending for *London*; which the *Engliſh* Army deſign to hinder, and therefore march to *Preſton*, where *Hamilton* and *Langdale* lay with near 24000 Souldiers; *Cromwell* and *Lambert* had about 5000 Horſe, and Dragoons, and 7000 Foot; *Auguſt* 17. both Armies faced each other; Major *Smithſon* commanded the Forlorn of the *Engliſh*, who charged furiouſly on the other, routed them, and Alarum'd the whole Army, and ſo the Battles join on a Moor 2 miles Eaſt of *Preſton*; the Fight was very hot for 2 hours, but then the *Scots* gave ground, which incouraged the *Engliſh* to purſue, and that ſo fiercely as the *Scots* were forced to divide; one part being a Body of 3000 Horſe moved toward *Lancaſter*, and was purſued and diſperſed by Col. *Triſſelton*, and *Thornlow*, who took multitudes of them Priſoners; the other part, Horſe and Foot, march over the River *Ribel*, whom the main of the Engliſh Army follow, and at *Ribel* Bridge, the *Scots* make a ſtand, defending the paſs ſtoutly for 2 hours, even to puſh a Pike, and were then conſtrained to retire; the next morning the *Scots* draw up upon an Hill, on the ſide of *Preſton*, whence being forced by the *Engliſh*, they fled in great diſorder to *Wiggan*, which they plundred, and next morning marched toward *Warrington*, the *Engliſh* being ſtill in purſuit of them; near *Warrington* the *Scots* taking the advantage of Paſs, make another ſtand, but were again beaten with the loſs of a 1000 men, and were proſecuted to the very Bridge, where 4000 of the Foot, being deſerted of the Horſe, laid down their Arms and ſubmitted to mercy; *Hamilton* eſcaped with 3000 Horſe

to

to *Nantwich*, where the Countrey being up in Arms, seized 500 of them; *Cromwell* marches toward *Cumberland* to meet *Monroe*, ordering all the Parliament Commanders in those Counties to follow the flying *Scots*, by some of whom M. G. *Middleton*, who commanded 400 Horse, was defeated, aud taken Prisoner, and the rest dispersst; *Hamilton* himself was seized at *Uxeter* by the L. *Gray* of *Groby*, and sent Prisoner to *Ashby de la Zouch*.

In this Fight the *English* took more Prisoners than their whole Army amounted to; the Ensigns, and Colours here taken, were after hung up in *Westminster* Hall; Sir *Mar. Langdale* was apprehended in an Inn, *Cromwell* improves this succes, and comes to *Durham* to look out *Monroe*, supposed to be about 6000 strong; but the *Presbyterian* Party in *Scotland* having now recovered the power, command him to return, which he obeys more for fear of the *English* than dutifulness to them, and joining with the E. of *Lanerick*, both together made up 8000 Horse and Foot, to oppose whom, the Presbyterians provided an Army, whereof the E. of *Argile* was Commander in Chief, and *David Lesly* Lieutenant General. *Cromwell* enters *Scotland*, and publishes this Declaration; *Whereas we are marching with the Forces of the Parliament of* England *into the Kingdom of* Scotland, *in pursuance of the remaining part of the Enemy who lately invaded the Kingdom of* England, *for the recovery of the Garrisons of* Berwick and Carlile; *These are to declare, that if any Officer or Souldier under my command shall take or demand any mony, or shall take any Horses, Goods, or Victuals without Order, or shall abuse the People in any sort, he shall be Tryed, and punished with death by a Council of War.* *Argile*, *Lowdon*, *Leven*, and other of the *Scots* Nobility repair to *Cromwell*, and contract with him for subduing the publick Enemy, and so much was he feared in *Scotland*, that this Agreement was consented to, 1. *That the Armies under* Argile, *and the other under* Lanerick, *and* Monroe, *with all the Forces in any of the Garrisons in* Scotland *be disbanded, and* Berwick *and* Carlile *be delivered to the* English. 2. *That the settlement of Religion at home, and promoting Reformation abroad*

be

be ordered by the determination of the General Assembly, and all Civil Differences be referred to a Parl. speedily to be called. 3. That no party that were in the last engagements against Eng. *be of the new Parl. or of the General Assembly*; And so *Cromwell* returns into *England* after he had been Feasted and Treated at *Edenburgh*, and highly caressed by the States of *Scotland* with all expressions of Honour; and in *Yorkshire* he was desired by the Committee to reduce *Scarborough* and *Pomfret* Castles, which was afterwards performed.

Colchester had endured a tedious Siege, and was now brought to such scarcity of Provision, that they had not horse flesh enough to serve them for one day, that being the food which they had fed on for almost a fortnight, and purchased with much blood spilt in divers Sallies for dead Horses, and now perceiving all hopes of succor utterly frustrated, were necessitated to yield upon these Conditions; that the *Common Souldiers depart with life, and the Officers to remain at the Generals disposal, he to exempt from mercy whom he pleased, the remainder to be remitted to the Parliaments mercy, and the Town to raise* 14000 *pound to reserve it from plunder*; *the Prisoners of Quality were the L.* Goring, Capel *and* Loughborough, 11 Kn. 12 Col. 8 Lieut. Col. 9 Maj. 10 Cap. and 65 Gentle. the common Prisr were about 3000; 3 of the Kn. were condemned by a Coun. of War, Sir *Cha. Lucas*, Sir *G. Lisle*, and Sir *Ber. Gascoyn* a Papist, the last was reprieved, and the other 2 were shot to death, the first having (as *Fairf.* said in his Letter to the Par.) contrary to his promise not kept his word with him, the second accused to have directed the shooting of Poysoned bullets contrary to the Law of Arms; and so *Fairf.* after much loss of time and Men, and difficult service for a Quarter of a year, against the valiant defence of the besieged took possession of *Colchester*, *Aug.* 27. 1648. After which he marches up and down the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge* and *Hertford* to settle Peace, and visit the Garrisons, and so returns to St. *Albans* his Head Quarter; And thus ended the Military Actions of this Year.

Whilst the Army was busied in fighting, the Par. received Petitions from several Counties for a Treaty with the K. and among others one from *London*, with al desiring the release of their Aldermen, *Gayer*, *Langham*, *Bunch*, and Serj. *Glyn*, which the House agreed to, & likewise repealed their Orders against the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Suffolk*, & *Middlesex*, & the Lords *Berkley*, *Hunsdon*, *Maynard*, *Willoughby of Parham*, & the 11 Impeached Memb. And now they

apply

apply themselves to the business so much desired; the E. of *Middlesex*, Sir J. *Hipsley*, & Mr. *Bulkley* were sent to the K. to let him know the Parl. Intentions; who returned with his desires; upon which the Par. voted; *That the Votes of Non Addresses should be recalled; That such Persons as the K. should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty be admitted; That he be in the same state of Freedom as at* Hampton Court *with such Servants as he desires, that 5 Lords, and 10 Commons be chosen Commissioners to Treat with the K. & the place to be* Newport *in the Isle of* Wight, *and that the K. be admitted to invite the Scots thereinto, but to Treat only concerning that Kingdom.* These Votes were sent down to the K. who was to treat Personally with the following Commissioners; the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, *Middlesex*, *Northumberland*, & the L. *Say* for the House of L. the L. *Wainman*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *H. Vane* the younger, Sir *Har. Grimston*, Sir J. *Potts*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Crew*, & Mr. *Bulkley* (with Mr. *Hollis*, and Mr. *Glyn*. late readmitted into the House) for the Commons.

Mon. Sep. 8. 1648. the Treaty began, the Propositions were in number 11. 1. *For calling in all Declarations*, which the K. assented to with this Proviso, *That neither this Concession, nor any other of his should be taken advantage of, unless the whole were concluded.* 2. *In reference to the settlement of the Church, to which the K. condescended; to settle the Directory, to pass an Act to confirm the Assembly, & to establish Presbyt. Govern. for* 3 *years, reserving Liberty to himself & his Party to use the old form, but would not agree to the utter abolishing of Episcopal Hierarchy, nor the selling their Lands*; 3. *For setling the* Militia *in the hands of the Par. for* 20 *years solely, to which the K. assented, & likewise to the fourth Proposition for making void the Cessation in* Ireland, *and permitting the Government of it both Civil and Military to the 2 Houses at* Westm. *and to the* 5 *and* 6 *for nulling all Honours and Titles since the carrying away of the Great Seal, and for payment of publick Debts*; the 7 *Propositions concerning Delinquents, to whom the Parliament intended great severity; the King was contented, that they should be fined and prohibited Access to Council or Court without the Parlia. consent; That they be deprived for* 3 *years of their Right of sitting in Parl. and brought to Tryal, & if the* 2 *Houses think fit, or suffer according to their merit whereof they should be legally convicted; but he would by no means hear of branding them with Treason, nor taking away their Lives, Possessions, nor any others, but such as after a legal Tryal shall be found guilty of breaking the established Laws of the Land.* 8thly, *the Parl. be impowered to confer all Offices of the King & Chief Magistrates for* 3 *years; the* 9*th for confirming the new great Seal with all Grants and Commissions setled by it; The* 10*th for confirming all Priviledges, Grants, Charters, & Immunities; with Power to the City of* London *dispose of their* Militia, *& the Tower, and all Citizens to be exempted from Military Service, out of the Liberties, unless at the Par. appointment.*

All these Propositions were fully consented to, & likewise the last for total exterminating *the Court of Wards*, provided that 10000 Pound might be yearly paid to the K. by way of compensation; the

Mar. of *Ormond* had got back into *Ireland*, & raiſed Forces there in oppoſition to the Par. by the K. Commiſſion, but the K. aſſured the Commiſſioners, *That if the Treaty ſhould take effect, the Iriſh Affairs ſhould be managed at the diſcretion of the 2 Houſes only*; The K. having thus far complied with the Par. they likewiſe at his deſire vote; *That he be in Honour, Freedom, & ſafety according to the Laws; that he have his Revenue as before, excepting the dedications of ſuch Forts & Garriſons, as were of old accuſtomed to be allowed maintenance; that he have Compenſation for the Court of Wards; That an Act of Oblivion and Pardon be paſt*; Moſt men thought now that the K. and Par. would have united, and ſo in all likelyhood they had; nothing being in difference but only the buſineſs of Epiſcopacy; but all this is broken off by the Armies Interpoſal, who could not think themſelves ſecure ſo long as the K. lived; and therefore to find other work for the Parl. they firſt ſend up for their Arrears, amounting to a vaſt ſum of mony, which whil'ſt the 2 Houſes were debating, they prepare a Petition, *That ſcrutiny be taken for the diſcovery of the Contrivers and Actors in the late bloody Wars, and that ſpeedy Juſtice may be done upon them; That the ſame fault may have the ſame punishment in the Perſon of King or Lord, as in the Perſon of the pooreſt Commoner; That ſuch as ſpeak or Act on the K. behalf, till he be acquitted of ſhedding innocent blood be proceeded againſt as Traitors*, &c.

When this would not do, the Army draw nearer, and taking up their Head quarters at *Windſor*, conclude on a Remonſtrance, which they ſend up to the Par. requiring, 1. *That the K. be brought to Juſtice as the Capital Cauſe of all the Evils of the Civil War*. 2. *That a Peremptory day be ſet, for ſummoning the P. of* Wales, *&D. of* York, *& if they refuſe to appear, to declare them incapable of Govern. or Succeſſion, and to ſtand exiled as Traitors; & if they render themſelves yet to be proceeded againſt for ſatisfaction; that the* Revenues *of the Crown be ſequeſtred*. 3, *That publick Juſtice be done againſt the Actors in the laſt Wars. And laſtly they conclude, deſiring their Arrears*, with the old preference, *of eaſing the Countrey of Free Quarter; and deſire that a Period may be put to this Parl. and good care taken to elect a new Repreſentative*; In the mean time G. *Fairfax* commands C. *Hammond* to deliver up the K. to C. *Ewer*, by whom he is conveyed out of the Iſle of *Wight* to *Hurſt Caſtle*, *Nov.* 30. 2648. And all this contrary to the Intentions of the Par. who voted; *That the ſeizing upon the Perſon of the* K. *and the carrying him Priſoner to* Hurſt Caſtle *was without the Advice & Conſent of the 2 Houſes*. And thus the Treaty was violently broken off, yet the Houſe of L. vote, *That the* K. *Conceſſions are a ſufficient ground for Peace*, & forthwith adjourn; and the Major part of the Com. do the ſame; but the Army being now come up to *Lon.* reſolve to hinder theſe Proceedings, and therefore diſcharge the Trained Bands from being a Guard to the Parl. and order C. *Prides*, & *Riches* Regiments to ſupply their places, by whom above 40 Memb. of the Com. coming to the Houſe, were ſeized, & ſent to an Inn called *Hell* from thence to the *Kings-Head* near *Charing croſs*, & ſo

to

to the *Swan* in the *Strand*; & not satisfied with this, the Army accused M G. *Brown*, & above 90 Memb. for inviting in the *Scots* the last Summer, & therefore desired they might be excluded the House; At which the Com. being angry; adjourn *Dec.* 8. for 4 or 5 days, in which space the Army is buried in divising a *New way of Govern.* & their Commit. at *White.* move, *That this present Par. be dissolved the last of Ap. next, & that the Representatives of the whole Nation shall consist of 300 Persons, half of which number shall suffice to make any Act a Law, and that in the Intervals of Par. a Coun. of State shall govern*; and this Declaration, with about ten other Modifications, they stile, *The agreement of the People*; which was afterward presented to the H. of Com. by Sir *H. Waller*, & 16 Officers; the House new Modelled by excluding such a number of Memb. meet again annul'd the Votes of Non-Addresses, & those others which approved of the K. Concessions, & vote, *That no Message be received from the K. upon pain of Treason; That* Fair. *take care of the K. & that the Coun. of War draw up a charge against him*; so that now they are resolved upon his Tryal, and accordingly orders are issued out for his removal.

Dec. 13 1648. The K. was brought from *Hurst Castle* with a strong Guard of Horse to *Winchester*, afterward to *Windsor*; In the mean time the 2 Hou. differ; the Com. assert, *That it is Treason for the K. to levy War against the Commonwealth*; & the L. deny, *That the K. can commit Treason against the Commonwealth*, & therefore reject the Ordinance of the Com. for his T[illegible] & declare, *That no Act of the Com. is binding without their* [illegible] upon which the Com. vote, *That all Memb. & others appointed to Act in any Ordinance, are impowered & enjoyned to sit, Act & Execute, notwithstanding the H. of Peers joyned not with them.* And so earnest were both the Com. & the Army about it, that the Q. desiring to see her Husband before his Tryal, could not obtain a Pass for her secure coming & going. *Jan.* 4. The Com. being turned into a G. Commit. pass the se following Votes; 1. *That the People under God are the Original of all just power.* 2. *That the Com. of Eng. Assembled in Par. being chosen by, & representing the People, have the supream Authority of this Nat.* 3. *That whatsoever is enacted & declared for Law by the Com. of Eng. assembled in Par. hath the force of a Law.* 4. *That all the People of this Nation are included thereby, altho the consent & concurrence of the H. of Peers be not had thereto.* 5. *That to raise Arms against the People, Repre. or Par. & to make War upon them is H. Trea.* 6. *That the K. himself took Arms against the Par. & upon that Account is guilty of the bloodshed through out the Civil War, & that he ought to expiate the Crime with his own blood.*

After this they proceeded to make a pretended Act for the Tryal of the K. & notwithstanding the dissenting of the H. of L. & the Remonstrances of the *Scots* Par. against it; the Com. erect a new Illegal Tribunal which they call *The H. Court of Just.* who are impowered to convene, hear, judg & execute *C. Stuart* K. of *Eng.* & *Jan.* 6. The Ordinance for the K. Tryal was Ingrossed, which they intituled, *An Act of the Com. of Eng. assembled in Par. for erecting an H. C. of Just. for the Try. & Judging of C. Stew. K. of Eng. which was in the form following.*

Whereas

The King goes from Oxford in disguise 1646

The Illegall Tryall of King Charles the First

The Martyrdom of King Charles 1648

WHereas *it is notorious, That* Charles Stuart *the now King of* England, *not content with those many incroachments which his Predeceſſors had made upon the People in their* Rights *and* Freedoms, *hath had a wicked deſign totally to ſubvert the ancient and fundamental Laws and Liberty of this Nation: And in their place, to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, with fire and ſword levyed and maintained a cruel War in the Land, againſt the Parliament and Kingdom; Whereby the Country hath been miſerably waſted, the publick Treaſure exhauſted, Trade decayed, and thouſands of People murthered, and infinite of other miſchiefs committed; For all which High and Treaſonable Offences, the ſaid* Charles Stuart *might long ſince juſtly have been brought to exemplary and condign puniſhment: Whereas alſo the Parliament, well hoping that the reſtraint and impriſonment of his* Perſon, *(after it had pleaſed God to deliver him into their hands) would have quieted the diſturbers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially againſt him: But found by ſad experience, that ſuch their remiſſives ſerved only to encourage him and his Complices, in the Continuance of their evil practices, and in raiſing of new Commotions, Deſigns, and Invaſions; For prevention therefore of the like greater inconveniencies, and to the end that no Magiſtrate or Officer whatſoever, may hereafter preſume traiterouſly and maliciouſly to imagine or contrive the inſlaving or deſtroying of the Engliſh Nation, and to expect impunity in ſo doing:*

Be it Ordained and Enacted by the commons in Parliament aſſembled, and it is hereby Ordained and enacted by the Authority thereof: That Thomas *L* F. O. C. *&c.* ——— *ſhall be, and are hereby appointed Commiſſioners and Judges, for the Hearing, Trying, and Judging of the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *and the ſaid Commiſſioners or any Twenty or more of them, ſhall be, and are hereby authorized and Conſtituted an High* Court of Juſtice, *to meet at ſuch convenient times and places, as by the ſaid Commiſſioners, or the major part, or twenty, or more of them, under their Hands and Seals ſhall be appointed and notified by publick Proclamation in the great Hall of* Palace-yard of Weſtminiſter; *and adjourn from time to time, and from Place to place, as the ſaid High Court, or the major part there-*

of meeting should hold fit, and to take Order for charging of him the said Charles Stuart *with the Crimes above-mentioned, and for the receiving his Personal Answer thereunto, and for Examination of Witnesses upon Oath (if need be) concerning the same; and thereupon, or in default of such Answer, to proceed to final Sentence according to Justice, and the merit of the Cause, and to be Executed speedily and Impartially,* &c.

Presently after this was published, Proclamation was made, *That those who had any thing to say against the King, should have a hearing given them:* This was proclaimed first in *Westminster-Hall*, by the Serjeant at Arms to the Commissioners, Riding into the Hall with his Mace attended with six Trumpeters and other Officers, who likewise rode bare into the Hall with him, the Drums of the Guard beating in the mean time without in the *Palace-yard*. And the day after Proclamation was made to the same effect in *Cheapside*, and at the *Old-Exchange*: And in order to this grand Tryal, *Hillary Term* which usually begins *Jan.* 23. was adjourned for fourteen days; The House of Lords refusing to concur with the Commons in their Ordinance for the Kings Tryal, the Commons resolve and Vote, *That all Members and others appointed to Act in any Ordinance, are impowered and enjoyned to Sit, Act, and Execute, notwithstanding the House of Peers joyn not with them.*

And now the Ministers in general, and the Presbyterians likewise, who had been active against the Kings Cause, declare themselves both in their Pulpits and by earnest Petitions to the Parliament, to be Zealous abhorrers of the Kings death, and every where publickly protest against this Tryal; The Nobility likewise offer themselves Pledges on the Kings behalf; and the People universally seem greatly troubled and astonisht: Notwithstanding all which the house of Commons and the Army went desperately on, and a New and Illegal Tribunal called *A High Court of Justice* was erected, the Commissioners whereof met in the *Painted Chamber* to consult what course to take about the Trial of the King.

Fryday

Fryday Jan. 19. 1648. the King was brought with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe from *Windſor* to St. *James*'s and the next day Serjeant *Bradſhaw* Preſident of the pretended *High Court of Juſtice*, with about ſeventy of the Members of the ſaid Court, having Coll. *Fox* and ſixteen Gentlemen with Partizans, and a Sword born by Coll. *Humphrey*, and a Mace by Serj. *Dandy*, with their and other Officers of the ſaid Court marching before them, came to the place ordered to be prepared for their ſitting at the Weſt end of the Great Hall in *Weſtminſter*; where the Lord Preſident in a Crimſon Velvet Chair, fixed in the midſt of the Court, placed himſelf having a Desk with a Crimſon Velvet Cuſhion before him: The reſt of the Members placing themſelves on each ſide of him, upon the ſeveral Seats or Benches prepared and hung with Scarlet for that purpoſe, and the Partizans dividing themſelves on each ſide of the Court before them.

The Court being thus ſet, and ſilence made the great Gate of the ſaid Hall was ſet open, to the end, That all perſons without exception, deſirous to ſee, or hear might come into it; upon which the Hall was preſently filled, and Silence again ordered.

This done Colonel *Thomlinſon*, who had the charge of the King, as a Priſoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court who within a quarter of an hours ſpace brought him attended with about twenty Officers with Partizans marching before him, there being Coll. *Hacker* and other Gentlemen, to whoſe care and Cuſtody he was likewiſe committed, marching in his Rear.

Being thus brought up within the face of the Court, the Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, receives and conducts him ſtraight to the Bar, where a Crimſon Velvet Chair was ſet for the King. After a ſtern looking upon the Court and the people in the Galleries on each ſide of him, he places himſelf, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwiſe ſhewing the leaſt reſpect to the Court, but preſently riſes up again, and turns about looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left ſide, and on the multitude

of Spectators on the right side of the said great Hall. After Silence made among the people the Act of Parliament for the Trying of *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, was read over by the Clerk of the Court; who sat on one side of the Table covered with a rich Turkey Carpet, and placed at the feet of the said Lord President, upon which Table was also laid the Sword and Mace.

After reading the said Act, the several Names of the Commissioners were called over, every one who was present, rising up, and answering to his Call.

The King having again placed himself in his Chair, with his face towards the Court, Silence being again ordered, the Lord President stood up and said:

President. *CHARLES STUART*, King of *England*; The Commons of *England* Assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation, (which is fixed upon you, as the Principal Author of them) have resolved to make inquisition for Blood, and according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Justice, to God, the Kingdom, and themselves, and according to the Fundamental Power that rests in themselves, They have resolved to bring you to Tryal and Judgment; and for that purpose have constituted this High Court of Justice, before which you are brought.

This said, Mr. *Cook* Solicitor General for the Common-wealth (standing within a Bar on the right hand of the King) offered to speak; but the King having a Staff in his hand, held it up, and laid it upon the said Mr. *Cooks* shoulder two or three times, bidding him hold: Nevertheless, the Lord President ordering him to go on; he said:

Cook. My Lord I am commanded to charge *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, in the name of the Commons of *England*, with Treason and high Misdemeanours; I desire the said Charge may be read.

The said Charge being delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord President ordered it should be read, but

but the King bid him hold; Nevertheless, being commanded by the Lord President to read it, the Clerk begun.

The Charge of the Commons of England *against* CHARLES STUART *King of* England, *of High Treason, and other High Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Justice.*

'THat the said *Charles Stuart* being admitted King 'of *England*, and therein trusted with a Limi-'ted Power, to govern by, and according to the Laws of 'the Land, and not otherwise; And by his Trust, Oath, 'and Office, being obliged to use the power committed 'to him, for the good and benefit of the people, and for 'the preservation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet 'nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect, and uphold 'in himself an unlimited and Tyrannical Power, to rule 'according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and 'Liberties of the *People*; Yea, to take away, and make 'void the Foundations thereof, and of all redress and re-'medy of misgovernment, which by the funda-'mental Constitutions of this Kingdom were re-'served on the *People*s behalf, in the Right and *Power* 'of frequent and successive *Parliaments*, or National meet-'ings in Councel; He, the said *Charles Stuart*, for accom-'plishment of such his Designs, and for the protecting of 'himself and his Adherents, in His and their wicked pra-'ctices to the same end hath traiterously and maliciously 'levied War against the present Parliament, and the 'people therein represented.

'Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of *June*, 'in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred 'forty and two, at *Beverly* in the County of *York*; And 'upon, or about the thirtieth day of *July*, in the year a-'foresaid, in the County of the City of *York*; and upon, 'or about the Twenty fourth day of *August*, in the same 'year, at the County of the Town of *Nottingham*, (when, 'and where he set up his Standard of War,) and upon

'or about the twenty third day of *October*, in the ſame 'year, at *Edge-Hill*, and *Kenton-field*, in the County of 'Warwick; And upon or about the thirtieth day of *Nov.* 'in the ſame year, at *Brainford* in the County of *Middle-* 'ſex: And upon or about the thirtieth day of *Aug.* in 'the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred forty 'and three at *Caveſham-bridge* near *Reding*, in the Coun- 'ty of *Berks*: And upon, or about the thirtieth day of 'October, in the year laſt mentioned, at, or near the City 'of *Gloceſter*; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of 'November, in the year laſt mentioned, at *Newberry*, in 'the County of *Berks*; and upon, or about the one and 'thirtieth day of *July*, in the year of our Lord, One thou- 'ſand ſix hundred forty and four, at *Cropredy-bridge*, in 'the County of *Oxon*; And upon, or about the thirtieth 'day of *September*, in the laſt year mentioned, at *Bodmin*, 'and other places near adjacent, in the County of *Corn-* 'wall; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of *November*, 'in the laſt year mentioned, at *Newberry* aforeſaid: And 'upon or about the Eighth of *June*, in the year of our 'Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred forty and five, at the 'Town of *Leiceſter*; and alſo upon the fourteenth day 'of the ſame month, in the ſame year, at *Naſeby-field*, in 'the County of *Northampton*, At which ſeveral times and 'places, or moſt of them, and at many other places in 'this Land, at ſeveral other times, within the years afore- 'mentioned: And in the year of our Lord, One thou- 'ſand ſix hundred forty and ſix: He the ſaid *Ch. Stuart* 'hath cauſed and procured many thouſands of Free-peo- 'ple of the Nation to be ſlain; and by Diviſions, parties, 'and inſurrections, within this Land, by Invaſions from 'Foreign parts, endeavoured and procured by him, 'and by many other evil wayes and means; He the ſaid 'Charles Stuart hath not only maintained and carried 'on the ſaid War, both by Land and Sea, during the 'years before mentioned; but alſo hath renewed or cauſ- 'ed to be renewed, the ſaid War againſt the Parliament 'and good people of this Nation, in this preſent year 'One thouſand ſix hundred forty and eight, in the Coun-

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'ties of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, *Middleſex*, and many 'other Counties and places in *England* and *Wales*, and 'alſo by Sea: and particularly, He the ſaid *Charles Stuart* 'hath for that purpoſe, given Commiſſion to his Son, the 'Prince and others; whereby, beſides multitudes of o-'ther perſons, many ſuch, as were by the Parliament in-'truſted and imployed for the ſafety of the Nation, being 'by Him or His Agents, Corrupted, to the betraying of 'Their Truſt, and revolting from the Parliament, have 'had entertainment and Commiſſion, for the continu-'ing and the renewing of War and Hoſtility, againſt the 'ſaid Parliament and people, as aforeſaid. By which 'cruel and unnatural Wars by Him the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, 'levyed, continued, and renewed, as aforeſaid, much In-'nocent Blood of the Free-People of this Nation hath been 'ſpilt, many Families have been undone, the publick Trea-'ſury waſted and exhauſted, Trade obſtructed, and mi-'ſerably decayed; vaſt expence, and damage to the 'Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land ſpoyled, 'ſome of them even to deſolation.

'And for further proſecution of his ſaid evil Deſigns, 'He, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, doth ſtill continue his Com-'miſſions to the ſaid *Prince*, and other Rebels and Re-volters, both Engliſh and Forreigners, and to the Earl of '*Ormond*, and to the *Iriſh* Rebels and Revolters aſſociated 'with him: from whom further Invaſions upon this Land 'are threatened, upon the procurement and on the be-'half of the ſaid *Charles Stuart*.

'All which wicked deſigns, Wars, and evil practices 'of him the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, have been, and are carri-'ed on, for the advancing and upholding of the perſonal 'Intereſt of Will and *Power*, and pretended Prerogative 'to Himſelf and his Family, againſt the publick Intereſt, 'Common Right, Liberty, Juſtice, and Peace of the peo-'ple of this Nation, by, and for whom he was entruſted, 'as aforeſaid.

'By all which it appeareth, that he the ſaid *Charles* 'Stuart hath been, and is the Occaſioner, Author, and 'Contriver of the ſaid Unnatural, Cruel and Bloody

'Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons. Murther 'Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage and Mis-'chief to this Nation, acted or committed in the said Wars, 'or occasioned thereby.

'And the said *John Cook*, by protestation (saving on 'the behalf of the people of *England*, the liberty of ex-'hibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge against 'the said *Charles Stuart*, and also of replying to the An-'swers which the said *Ch. Stuart* shall make to the Pre-'misses, or any of them, or any other Charge that shall 'be so Exhibited) doth for the said Treasons and Crimes, 'on the behalf of the said people of *England*, Impeach 'the said *Charles Stuart* as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murtherer, 'and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Common-'wealth of *England*: And pray, that the said CHARLES 'STUART, King of *England*, may be put to answer 'All, and Every the Premises; That such Proceedings, 'Examinations, Trials, Sentence, and Judgment 'may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Ju-'stice.

IT is observed, that the time the Charge was reading, the King sate down in his Chair, looking sometimes on the Court, sometimes up to the Galleries, and having risen again, and turned about to behold the Guards and Spectators, sate down, looking very sternly, with a countenance not at all moved, till these words, *viz. Charles Stuart* (to be a *Tyrant* and *Traitor*, *&c.*) were read, at which he laughed as he sate in the face of the Court.

Charge being read, the Lord President replyed;

President. Sir, you have now heard your Charge read, containing such matters as appear in it; you find, That in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the *Commons* of *England*, that you answer to your Charge. The Court expects your Answer.

King. 'I would know by what Power I am called hi-'ther? I was not long ago, in the *Isle of Wight*, how I 'came there, is a longer story than I think is fit at this 'time for me to speak of; but there I entred into a *Trea-'ty* with both Houses of *Parliament*, with as much publick 'Faith as 'tis possible to be had of any people in the 'world.

'world. I treated there with a number of Honourable 'Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honestly and upright-'ly; I cannot say but they did very nobly with me, we 'were upon a conclusion of the Treaty. Now I would 'know by what Authority, I mean, lawful; there are 'many unlawful Authorities in the world, Thieves and 'Robbers by the high ways; but I would know by what 'Authority I was brought from thence, and carried from 'place to place, (and I know not what;) and when I 'know by what lawful Authority, I shall answer: Re-'member I am your King, and what sins you bring upon 'your heads, add the Judgment of God upon this Land; 'think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you 'go further from one sin to a greater, therefore let me 'know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and 'I shall not be unwilling to answer; in the mean time 'I shall not betray my Trust. I have a Trust commit-'ted to me by God, by old and lawful Descent, I 'will not betray it to answer to a new unlawful Autho-'rity, therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more 'of me.

President. If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you, by the Court, at your first coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority, requires you in the name of the people of *England*, of which you are Elected King, to answer them.

King. 'No Sir, I deny that.'

President. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they must proceed.

King 'I do tell them so, *England* was never an Elective 'Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for near these 'thousand years, therefore let me know by what Autho-'rity I am called hither: I do stand more for the Liber-'ty of my people than any here that come to be my pre-'tended Judges; and therefore let me know by what 'lawful Authority I am seated here and I will answer it, 'otherwise I will not answer it.

President. Sir, how really you have managed your Trust,

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is known: your way of answer is to interrogate the Court, which beseems not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. 'Here is a Gentleman, (Lieut Coll. *Cobbet* ask 'him, if he did not bring me from the *Isle of Wight* by 'force? I do not come here as submitting to the Court; 'I will stand as much for the Priviledge of the House of 'Commons, rightly understood, as any man here whatso-'ever. I see no House of Lords here that may con-'stitute a Parliament, and (the King too) should have 'been. Is this the bringing of the King to his Parlia-'ment? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the 'publick Faith of the world? Let me see a legal Autho-'rity warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or 'warranted by the Constitutions of the Kingdom, and I 'will answer.

President. Sir. You have propounded a Question, and have been answered: seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed; in the mean time, those that brought you hither, are to take charge of you back again.

The Court desires to know whether this be all the Answer you will give or no?

King. 'Sir, I desire that you would give me, and all 'the world, satisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not 'a slight thing you are about. I am sworn to keep the 'Peace by that duty I owe to God and my Country, and 'I will do it to the last breath of my body, and there-'fore you shall do well to satisfie first God, and then the 'Country, by what Authority you do it; if you do it by a 'usurped Authority, that will not last long. There is a 'God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you 'power, to account: Satisfie me in that, and I will an-'swer, otherwise I betray my trust, and the Liberties 'of the People; and therefore think of that, and then 'I shall be willing. For I do avow, that it is as great a 'sin to withstand lawfull Authority, as it is to submit to 'a Tyrannical, or any other ways unlawful Authority; 'and therefore satisfie God, and me, and all the World in 'that;

'that, and you ſhall receive my Anſwer: I am not afraid 'of the Bill.

Preſident. The Court expects you ſhould give them a final Anſwer; their purpoſe is to adjourn till Monday next, if you do not ſatisfie your ſelf, though we do tell you our Authority; we are ſatisfied with our Authority, and it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms, and that peace you ſpeak of will be kept in the doing of Juſtice, and that's our preſent work.

King. 'Let me tell you, if you will ſhew me what 'lawful Authority you have, I ſhall be ſatisfied: But 'that you have hitherto ſaid, ſatisfies no reaſonable 'man.

Preſident. That's in your apprehenſion; we think it reaſonable that are your *Judges*.

King. 'Tis not my apprehenſion, nor yours neither, 'that ought to decide it.

Preſident. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be diſpoſed of as they have commanded.

Two things were remarkable in this days proceedings.

1. It is obſerved, That as the Charge was reading againſt the King, the ſilver head of his Staff fell off, the which he wondered at, and ſeeing none to take it up, he ſtoop'd for it himſelf, and put it in his pocket.

2. That as the King was going away, he looking with a very auſtere countenance upon the Court, without ſtirring of his Hat, replyed, *Well Sir*, (when the *L. Preſident* commanded the Guard to take him away) and at his going down, he ſaid, *I do not fear that*, (pointing with his ſtaff at the Sword.) The People in the Hall, as he went down the ſtairs cryed out, ſome, *God ſave the King*, and ſome for *Juſtice*.

Oyes being called, the Court adjourned till Monday next *January* 22. at 9. in the morning to the Painted Chamber, and from thence to the ſame place again in *Weſtminſter* Hall.

January 21. being Sunday, the Commiſſioners kept a Faſt at *White-Hall* there Preached Mr. *Spigge*, his Text was, *He that ſheds Mans blood, by Man ſhall his blood be ſhed*; next Mr. *Foxeley*, his Text *Judge not, leaſt you be judged.*

judged. Laſt, was Mr. *Peters*, his Text was, *I will bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron.*

At the High Court of Juſtice ſitting in Weſtminſter-Hall, *Monday, Jan.* 22. 1648.

OYes made: Silence commanded: The Court called, and anſwered to their Names.

Silence commanded upon pain of impriſonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all ſuch as make diſturbance.

Upon the Kings coming in a ſhout was made.

Command given by the Court to the Captain of the Guard, to fetch and take into his cuſtody thoſe who make any diſturbance.

Mr. *Solicitor.* May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, my Lord Preſident, I did at the Court in the behalf of the Commons of *England*, exhibit and give into this Court a Charge of High Treaſon and other high Crimes, againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuſe him in the name of the People of *England*, and the Charge was read unto him, and his Anſwer required. My Lord, he was not then pleaſed to give an Anſwer, but in ſtead of anſwering, did there diſpute the Authority of this High Court. My humble Motion to this High Court in behalf of the People of *England*, is, That the Priſoner may be directed to make a poſitive Anſwer, either by way of Confeſſion or Negation; which if he ſhall refuſe to do, that the matter of Charge may be taken *pro confeſſo*, and the Court may proceed according to Juſtice.

Preſident. Sir, You may remember at the laſt Court, you were told the occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge againſt you containing a Charge of high Treaſon, and other high Crimes, againſt this Realm of *England*; you heard likewiſe that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you ſhould give an anſwer to that Charge, that thereupon ſuch proceedings might be had, as ſhould be agreeable to juſtice; you were then pleaſed to make ſome ſcru-

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ples concerningthe Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your Queſtions, and were as often anſwered, that it was by Authority of the *Commons of England aſſembled in Parliament*, that did think fit to call you to account for thoſe high and capital miſdemeanours wherewith you were then charged. Since that, the Court hath taken into Conſideration what you then ſaid; they are fully ſatisfied with their ownAuthority,& they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a poſitive and particular Anſwer to this Charge that is exhibited againſt you, they do expect you ſhould either confeſs or deny it;ifyoudeny, it is offered in the behalf of the Nation to be made good againſt you;their Authority they do avow to the whole world, that the whole Kingdom are to reſt ſatisfied in, and you are to reſt ſatisfied with it, and therefore you are to loſe no more time, but to give a poſitive Anſwer thereunto.

King. 'When I was here laſt, 'tis true I made that 'Queſtion, and truly if it were only my own particular 'caſe, I would have ſatisfied my ſelf with the Proteſtation 'I made the laſt time I was here,againſt the Legality of 'this Court, and that a King cannot be tryed by any Su-'periour Juriſdiction on Earth; but it is not my caſe a-'lone, it is the Freedom and the Liberty of the peo-'ple of *England*; and do you pretend what you will, I 'ſtand more for their Liberties. For if power without 'Law, may make Laws, may alter the fundamental Laws 'of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in '*England*, that can be ſure of his life, or any thing that 'he calls his own; therefore when that I came here, I 'did expect particular Reaſons to know by what Law, 'what Authority,you did proceed againſt me here, and 'therefore I am alittle to ſeek what to ſay to you in this 'particular, becauſe the Affirmative is proved, the Ne-'gative often is very hard to do: but ſince I cannot per-'ſwade you to do it, I ſhall tell you my Reaſons as ſhort 'as I can.

'My

'My Reaſons why in Conſcience, and the duty I 'owe to God firſt, and my People next, for the pre-'ſervation of their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates; I con-'ceive I cannot anſwer this, till I be ſatisfied of the legali-'ty of it.

Here the King would have delivered his Reaſons.

'All proceedings againſt any man what-'ſoever ———

Preſident. Sir, I muſt interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you do, is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Juſtice; you are about to enter into Argument, and diſpute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Priſoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent; if you take upon you to diſpute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to ſubmit unto it, you are to give in a punctual and direct Anſwer, whether you will anſwer to your Charge or no, and what your Anſwer is.

King. 'Sir by your favour, I do not know the forms 'of Law, I do know Law and Reaſon, though I am no 'Lawyer profeſſed, yet I know as much Law as any 'Gentleman in *England*; and therefore (under favour) 'I do plead for the Liberties of the People of *England* 'more than you do, and therefore if I ſhould impoſe 'a belief upon any man without Reaſons given for it, 'it were unreaſonable; but I muſt tell you, That by 'that Reaſon that I have as thus informed, I cannot yield 'unto it.

Preſident. Sir, I muſt interrupt you, you may not be permitted; you ſpake of Law and Reaſon; it is fit there ſhould be Law and Reaſon, and there is both againſt you. Sir, the Vote of the Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, it is the Reaſon of the Kingdom, and they are theſe too that have given that Law, according to which you ſhould have ruled and reigned. Sir, you are not to diſpute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you ſtand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King.

King. 'I do not know how a King can be a Delin-'quent: not by any Law that ever I heard of, all men '(Delinquents or what you will) let me tell you, they 'may put in Demurrers against any proceedings as Legal, 'and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my 'Reasons; if you deny that, you deny Reason.

President. Sir, you have offered something to the Court, I shall speak something unto you the sense of the Court; Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to dispute that point, you are concluded, you may not demur the Jurisdiction of the Court; if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer, they sit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predecessors, and you are responsible to them.

King. 'I deny that; shew me one Presi-'dent———

President. Sir you ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it; if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. 'I say Sir, by your favour, that the Commons of '*England* was never a Court of Judicature; I would know 'how they came to be so.

President. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and these Discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as follow-eth.

Charles Stuart, *King of* England, *You have been accused on the behalf of the People of* England *of High Treason, and other high Crimes; the Court have determined, that you ought to answer the same.*

King. 'I will answer the same as soon as I know by 'what Authority you do this.

President. If this be all that you will say, then Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King.

King. 'I do require that I may give in my Rea-'sons why I do not Answer, and give me time for that.

President. Sir, 'Tis not for Prisoners to require.

King. 'Prisoners! Sir, I am not an ordinary Prisoner.

President. The Court hath considered of their Jurisdiction, and they have already affirmed their Jurisdiction; if you will not answer, we shall give order to record your default.

King. 'You never heard my Reasons yet.

President. Sir, your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

King. 'Shew me that Jurisdiction, where Reason is 'not to be heard.

President. Sir, We shew it you here, the Commons of *England*; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure of the Court, and it may be, their final determination.

King. 'Shew me wherever the House of Commons 'was a Court of Judicature of that kind.

President. Serjeant take away the Prisoner.

King. 'Well Sir, remember that the King is not suf-'fered to give his Reasons for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.

President. Sir, You are not to have liberty to use this language; how great a friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the people, let all *England* and the World judge.

King. 'Sir under favour, it was the Liberty, Free-'dom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took —— 'defended my self with Arms; I never took up Arms 'against the People, but for my people and the Laws.

President. The command of the Court must be obeyed; no Answer will be given to the Charge.

King. 'Well Sir.

Then the Lord President ordered the default to be recorded, and the Contempt of the Court, and that no answer would be given to the Charge.

And so was guarded forth to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s house.

Then

Then the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber on Tueſday at twelve a clock, and from thence they intended to adjourn to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, at which time all perſons concerned were to give their attendance.

Reſolutions of the Court at their meeting in the Painted Chamber, *Lunæ Jan.* 22. 1648.

This day the King being withdrawn from the Bar of the High Court of Juſtice, the Commiſſioners of the ſaid High Court of Juſtice ſate private in the Pai nted Chamber, and conſidered of the Kings carriage upon the *Saturday* before, and of all that had then paſſed, and fully approved of what the *Lord Preſident* had done and ſaid in the managing of the buſineſs of that day, as agreeing to their ſenſe. And perceiving what the King aimed at, *viz.* to bring in queſtion (if he could) the Juriſdiction of the Court, and the Authority thereof, whereby they ſate; and conſidering that in the interim he had not acknowledged them in any ſort to be a Court or his Judges; and through their ſides intended to wound (if he might be permitted) the Supream Authority of the Commons of *England*, in their Repreſentatives the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, after advice with their Councel learned in both Laws, and mature deliberation had of the matter:

Reſolved, That the King ſhould not be ſuffered to argue the Courts Juriſdiction, of that which conſtituted them a Court, of which debate they had not proper Conuſance, nor could they, being a derivative Judge of that Supream Court which made them Judges, from which there was no Appeal, and did therefore order and direct, *viz.*

Ordered, That in caſe the King ſhall again offer to diſpute the Authority of the Court, the *Lord Preſident* do let him know, that the Court have taken into conſideration his demands of the laſt day and that he ought to reſt ſatisfied with this Anſwer; That the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament have conſtituted this Court, whoſe power may not, nor ſhould be permitted to be diſputed by him.

That in case the King shall refuse to answer or acknowledge the Court, the *Lord President* do let him know that the Court will take it as a Contumacy, and that it shall be so Recorded.

That in case he shall offer or answer with a *saving*, notwithstanding of his pretended Prerogatives above the jurisdiction of the Court, That the *Lord President* do in the Name of the Court refuse his protest, and require his positive Answer, whether he will own the Court or not.

That in case the King shall demand a Copy of the Charge, that he shall then declare his intention to Answer, and that declaring his intention, a Copy be granted unto him.

That in case the King shall still persist in his contempt, the *Lord President* do give command to the Clerk, to demand of the King, in the name of the Court, in these words following, *viz.*

Charles Stuart King of *England*, you are accused in the behalf of the People of *England*, of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you. The Court requires you to give a positive answer, to confess or deny the Charge, having determined that you ought to Answer the same.

At the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster-Hall, *Tuesday*, Jan. 23. 1648.

Oyes made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Seventy three Persons present.

The King comes in with his Guard, looks with an austere countenance upon the Court, and sits down.

The second Oyes made, and silence commanded.

Mr. *Cook* Solicitor General. May it please your Lordship my *Lord President*,

This is now the third time that by the great grace and favour of this High Court, the Prisoner hath been brought to the Bar, before any Issue joyned in the Cause. My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibit a Charge against him, containing the highest Treason that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of *England*: that a King of *England*, trusted

truſted to keep the Law, That had taken an Oath ſo to do, That had Tribute paid him for that end, ſhould be guilty of a wicked deſign to ſubvert and deſtroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, in the defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, ſet up his Standard for War againſt his Parliament and people; and I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the people of *England*; that he might ſpeedily be required to make an anſwer to the Charge.

But, my Lord, inſtead of making any Anſwer, he did then diſpute the Authority of this High Court; your Lordſhip was pleaſed to give him a further day to conſider, and to put in his Anſwer, which day being yeſterday, I did humbly move that he might be required to give a direct and poſitive anſwer, either by denying, or confeſſion of it; but (my Lord) he was then pleaſed for to demurr to the Juriſdiction of the Court, which the Court did then overrule, & command him to give a direct and poſitive Anſwer. My Lord, beſides this great delay of Juſtice, I ſhall now humbly move your Lordſhip for ſpeedy Judgment againſt him. My Lord I might preſs your Lordſhip upon the whole, That according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, That if a Priſoner ſhall ſtand as contumacious in contempt and ſhall not put in an iſſuable plea, Guilty or not Guilty of the Charge given againſt him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal; That as by an implicite confeſſion, it may be taken *pro confeſſo*, as it hath been done to thoſe who have deſerved more favour than the Priſoner at the Bar has done: but beſides, my Lord, I ſhall humbly preſs your Lordſhip upon the whole Fact; the Houſe of Commons, the Supream Authority and Juriſdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That it is notorious, That the matter of the Charge is true, as it is in truth (my Lord) as clear as Chryſtal, and as the Sun that ſhines at noon-day; which if your Lordſhip and the Court be not ſatisfied in, I have notwithſtanding, on the people of *Englands* behalf, ſeveral Witneſſes to produce: And therefore I do humbly pray, and yet I muſt confeſs

it

it is not so much I, as the Innocent Blood that hath been shed, the cry whereof is very great for Justice and Judgment, and therefore I do humbly pray, that speedy *Judgment* bepronounced against the Prisoner at the Bar.

President. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Councel, on the behalf of the Kingdom against you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget, what dilatory dealings the Court hath found at your hand: you were pleased to propound some Questions, you have had your Resolutions upon them. You were told over &over again, That the Court did affirm their own Jurisdiction: That it was not for you, nor any other man, to dispute the *Jurisdiction of the Supreme and highest Authority of* England, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute; yet you did persist in such carriage, as you gave no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the *High Court that constituted this Court of Justice.*

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, That they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the supreme *Court of England* to be thus trifled withal, and that they might in Justice, if they pleased, & according to the rules of justice, take advantage of these delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgment against you: yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a positive Answer unto this Charge that is against you, Sir, in plain terms; for Justice knows no respect of Persons; you are to give your positive and final Answer in plain *English*, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these Treasons laid to your Charge.

The King after a little pause, said,

'When I was here yesterday, I did desire to spak for 'the *Liberties of the people of* England; I was interrupted: 'I desire to know yet whether I may spake freely or 'not.

President. Sir you have had the Resolution of the Court upon

upon the like Queſtion the laſt day, and you were told that having ſuch a Charge of ſo high a Nature againſt you, your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Juriſdiction of the Court, *and to anſwer to your Charge.* Sir, if you Anſwer to your Charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do though they might have taken the advantage of your Contempt, yet if you be able to Anſwer to your Charge, when you have once Anſwered, you ſhall be heard at large, make the beſt Defence you can. But Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court, as their Commands, that you are not to be permitted to iſſue out into any other diſcourſes, till ſuch time as you have given a poſitive Anſwer concerning the *Matter* that is *Charged* upon you.

'*King.* 'For the *Charge* I value it not a Ruſh, it is the '*Liberty* of the people of *England* that I ſtand for; for 'me to acknowledge a new *Court*, that I never heard of 'before, I that am your King, that ſhould be an example 'to all the people of *England*, for to uphold Juſtice, to 'maintain the old Laws; indeed I do not know how to 'do it; you ſpoke very well the firſt day that I came here, '(on *Saturday*) of the obligations that I had laid upon 'me by God, to the maintenance of *the Liberties of my peo-*'*ple*: The ſame obligation you ſpeak of, I do acknowledge 'to God that I owe to Him, and to my people, to defend 'as much as in me lies, the ancient Laws of the Kingdom; 'therefore until that I may know that this is not againſt 'the *Fundamental Laws* of the Kingdom, by your fa-'vour, I can put in no particular Anſwer: If you will 'give me time, I will then ſhew you my Reaſons why I 'cannot do it, and this ———————————

Here being interrupted he ſaid,

'By your favour you ought not to interrupt me; how I came here, I know not, ther's no Law for it, to make your King your Priſoner: I was lately in a Treaty upon the publick Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known ——— the two Houſes of Parliament, that was the Repreſentative of the Kingdom, and when that I had almoſt made an end of the Treaty, then I was

hurried

'hurried away and brought hither; and therefore ——— Here the *President* interrupted him and said, Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. 'By your favour Sir. ———

President. Nay, Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into these discourses; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court; the Court craves it not of you, and once more they command you to give your positive Answer ——— ——— Clerk, Do your Duty,

King. 'Duty Sir!

The Clerk reads.

Charles Stuart, *King of* England, *you are accused in the behalf of the Commons of* England, *of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you; the Court now requires you to give your positive and final Answer, by way of confession, or denyal of the Charge.*

King. 'Sir; I say again to you, so that I might give 'satisfaction to the people of *England* of the clearness of 'my proceedings, not by way of Answer, not in this way, 'but to satisfie them that I have done nothing against that 'Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; 'but to acknowledge a New Court against their Priviledges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; 'Sir, you must excuse me.

President. Sir, this is the Third time that you have publickly disowned the Court, and put an affront upon it; how far you have preserved the Priviledges of the people, your actions have spoke it; but truly Sir, mens intentions ought to be known by their Actions, you have written your meaning in Bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom; but Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court; ——— ——— ——— ——— ———Clerk, Record the default ——— ——— ——— ———and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner, take him back again.

King. 'I will onely say this one word to you, If it 'were only my own particular, I would not say any more, 'or interrupt you. *President*

Preſident. Sir, you have heard the pleaſure of the Court, and you are (notwithſtanding you will not underſtand it) to find that you are before a Court of Juſtice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard, and Proclamation was made, That all Perſons who had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber, to which place the Court did forthwith Adjourn, and intended to meet in Weſtminſter-Hall *by Ten of the Clock the next morning.*

Cryer. God bleſs the Kingdom of *England.*

His Majeſty intended to have delivered in writing his Reaſons againſt the Pretended Juriſdiction of the High Court of Juſtice, upon Monday, *Jan.* 22. but was not permitted.

Saturday the 27 *of* January, 1648.

O Yes made, Silence commanded, The Court called; Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, Lord *Preſident*, in his Scarlet Robe (ſuitable to the work of this day) with Sixty Eight other Members of the Court called. As the K. came into the Court, in his uſual poſture with his Hat on, a Cry made in the Hall by ſome of the Souldiers for *Juſtice*, *Juſtice*, and *Execution.*

King. 'I ſhall deſire a word to be heard a little, and 'I hope I ſhall give no occaſion of interruption.

Preſident. You may anſwer in your time, hear the Court firſt.

King. 'If it pleaſe you Sir, I deſire to be heard, and I 'ſhall not give any occaſion of interruption, and it is only in a word; a ſudden judgment ——

Preſident. You ſhall be heard in due time, but You are to hear the Court firſt.

King. 'Sir, I deſire it, it will be in order to what I 'believe the Court will ſay; and therefore, Sir, a haſtie 'Judgment is not ſo ſoon recalled.

Preſident. Sir, you ſhall be heard befor the Judgment be given, and in the mean time you may forbear.

King. 'Well Sir, ſhall I be heard before the Judgment 'be given?

President Gentlemen, it is well known to all, or moſt of you here preſent, That the Priſoner at the Bar hath been ſeveral times convented and brought before the Court to make anſwer to a Charge of Treaſon and other high Crimes exhibited againſt him in the Name of the People of *England*; to which Charge being required to Anſwer, he hath been ſo far from obeying the Commands of the Court by ſubmitting to their Juſtice, as he began to take upon him to offer Reaſoning and Debate unto the Authoritie of the Court, and of the higheſt Court that conſtituted them to try and judge him; but being over-ruled in that, and required to make his Anſwer, he was ſtill pleaſed to continue contumacious, and to refuſe to ſubmit or Anſwer; Hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themſelves, to the truſt repoſed in hem. nor that any mans wilfulneſs prevent Juſtice, chey nave thought fit to take the matter into their conſideration; they have conſidered of the Contumacy, and of that confeſſion which in Law doth ariſe upon that Contumacy; They have likewiſe conſidered of the notoriety of the Fact charged upon the Priſoner, and upon the whole matter they are reſolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be now pronounced againſt this Priſoner: But in reſpect he doth deſire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath reſolved that they will hear him; yet Sir, thus much I muſt tell you before-hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts; that if that you have to ſay be to offer any Debate concerning Juriſdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed ſtruck at the root, that is, the Power and *Supreme Authority of the Commons of* England, which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them, that they ſhould preſume to judge upon their Superiority, from whom there is no Appeal. But Sir, if you have any thing to ſay in defence of your ſelf

Here an honourable Lady interrupted the Court, ſaying Not half the people, *but ſhe was ſoon ſilenced.*

ſelf concerning the matters charged, the Court hath given me command to let you know they will hear you.

King. 'Since that I ſee that you will not hear any thing 'of debate concerning that which I confeſs I thought 'moſt material for the peace of the Kingdom, and for the 'Liberty of the Subject, I ſhall wave it, I ſhall ſpeak no-'thing to it; but only I muſt tell you, That this many a 'day all things have been taken away from me, but that, 'that I call more dear to me than my life, which is *My* '*Conſcience* and my *Honour*; and if I had reſpect to my 'life more than the Peace of the King. the *Liberty of the* '*Subject*, certainly I ſhould have made a particular de-'fence for my ſelf, for by that at leaſt-wiſe I might have 'delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will paſs up-'on me.; Therefore certainly, Sir, as man that hath 'ſome underſtanding, ſome knowledge of the world, if 'that my true zeal to my Countrey had not overborn 'the care that I have of my own preſervation, I ſhould 'have gone another way to work than that I have done: 'Now, Sir, I conceive that an haſty Sentence once paſt, 'may be ſooner repented than recalled: And truly the 'ſelf ſame deſire that I have for *the Peace of the Kingdom, and* '*the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular*, does 'make me now at laſt deſire, that having ſomething for 'to ſay that concerns both, I deſire before Sentence be 'given, that I may be heard in the Paint Chamber before 'the Lords and Commons; this delay cannot be prejudicial 'to you; whatſoever I ſay, if that I ſay no Reaſon, thoſe 'that hear muſt be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that I have; 'if it be reaſon, and really for the *welfare of the Kingdom,* '*and the Liberty of the Subject*, I am ſure on it very well, 'it is worth the hearing; Therefore I do conjure you, 'as you love that you pretend, I hope it is real, *the Li-*'*berty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdom*; that you 'will grant Me the hearing, before any Sentence be paſſed; 'I only deſire this, that you will take this into your con-'ſideration, it may be you have not heard of it before-'hand; if you will, I'le retire and you may think of it: 'but if I cannot get this *Liberty*. I do here proteſt, that

'so fair shews of *Liberty and Peace* are pure shews, and not 'otherwise, in that you will not hear your KING.

President. Sir, You have now spoken?

King. 'Yes Sir.

President. And this that you have said is a further declining of the *Jurisdiction of this Court*, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

King. 'Pray excuse me, Sir, for my interruption, be-'cause you mistake me, it is not a declining of it, you 'do judge me before you hear me speak; I say it will not, I 'do not decline it, though I cannot acknowledge the 'Jurisdiction of the Court; yet, Sir, in this give Me leave to 'say, I would do it, though I did not acknowledge it in 'this, I do protest it is not the declining of it, since I say, 'if that I do say any thing but that that is for the Peace 'of *the Kingdom* and *the Liberties of the Subject*, then the 'shame is mine. Now I desire, that you will take this in-'to your consideration, if you will, I'le withdraw.

President. Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, though the first time in person you have offered it to the Court: Sir you say you Decline not the Jurisdiction of the Court.

King. 'Not in this that I have said.

President. I understand you well, Sir, but nevertheless that which you have offered, seems to be contrary to that saying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence: It is not as you say, *That they will not hear thee King*, for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleasure for three Courts together to hear what you would say to the Peoples Charge against you, to which you have not vouchsafed to give any answer at all; Sir, This tends to a further delay: Truly Sir, such delayes as these neither may the Kingdom nor Justice well bear; You have had three several dayes to have offered in this kind what you would have pleased. This Court is founded upon that *Authority of the Commons of* England, *in whom rests the Supreme Jurisdiction*; That which you now tender, is to have another Jurisdiction & a *Coordinate Jurisdiction*. I know very well you expre-

you

your ſelf, Sir, That notwithſtanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheleſs you would proceed on here, I did hear you ſay ſo; but Sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, muſt needs be in delay of the Juſtice here; ſo as if this Court be reſolved, and prepared for the Sentence, this that you offer they are not bound in juſtice to grant; but, Sir, according to that you ſeem to deſire, and becauſe you ſhall know the further pleaſure of the Court upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

King. 'Shall I withdraw?

Preſident. Sir, you ſhall know the pleaſure of the Court preſently: the Court withdraws for half an hour into the *Court of Wards.*

Serj. at Arms, the Court gives command that the Priſoner be withdrawn and they give order for his return again.

The Court withdraws for half an hour and returns.

Preſident. Serjeant at Arms, ſend for your Priſoner.

Sir, You were pleaſed to make a motion here to the Co. to offer a deſire of yours touching the propounding of ſomewhat to the Lords in the *Painted Chamber* for the Peace of the Kingdom: Sir, you did in effect receive an anſwer before the Court adjourned; Truly Sir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not ſeem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing; they have conſidered of what you have moved, and have conſidered of their own Authority which his founded (as hath been often ſaid) upon the *Supreme Authority of the Commons of* England *Aſſembled in Parliament*, The Court acts accordingly to the Commiſſion: Sir, the return I have to you from the Court, is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer hath occaſioned ſome little further delay, and they are JUDGES appointed by the higheſt JUDGES, and *Judges* are no more to delay, than they are to deny Juſtice: they are good words in the old Charter of *England, Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus Juſtitiam.* There muſt be no delay; but

the Truth is, Sir, and ſo every man here obſerves it, That you have much delayed them in your contempt and default, for which they might have long ſince proceeded to judgment againſt you, and notwithſtanding what you have offered, they are reſolved to proceed to Puniſhment, and to Judgment, and that is their unanimous Reſolution.

King. 'Sir, I know it is in vain for me to diſpute, I 'am no *Sceptick* for to deny the Power that you have, I 'know that you have Power enough; Sir, I confeſs I 'think it would have been for the Kingdoms peace, if 'you would have taken the pains for to have ſhown the 'Lawfulneſs of your Power; for this delay, that I have 'deſired, I confeſs it is a delay but it is a delay very im-'portant for the Peace of the Kingdom, for it is not my 'perſon that I look on alone, it is the Kingdoms welfare, 'and the Kingdoms Peace: it is an Old Sentence, *That 'we ſhould think on long, before we have reſolved of great mat-'ters ſuddenly*; Therefore, Sir, I do ſay again, that I do 'put at your Doors all the inconveniency of an haſty 'Sentence; I confeſs, I have been here now I think this 'Week, this day Eight dayes, was the day I came here 'firſt, but a little delay of a day or two further, may give 'Peace, whereas an *Haſty Judgment* may bring on that trou-'ble and perpetual inconveniency to the Kingdom, 'that the Child that is unborn may repent it, and there-'fore again out of the Duty I owe to God, and to my Coun-'trey, I do deſire that I may be heard by the Lords and 'Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, or any other Chamber 'that you will appoint me.

Preſident. Sir, you have been already anſwered to what you even now moved, being the ſame you moved before, ſince the Reſolution and the Judgement of the Court in it, and the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to ſay for Your ſelf, than you have ſaid, before they proceed to Sentence.

King. 'I ſay this, Sir, that if you will hear me, if you will 'give me but this delay, I doubt not but I ſhall give ſome 'ſatisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that,

'and

'and therefore I do require you, as you will Answer it in 'the dreadfull Day of Judgment, that you will consider 'it once again.

President. Sir, I have received direction from the Court.

King. 'Well, Sir.

President. If this must be re-inforc'd or any thing of this nature, your answer must be the same, and they will proceed to sentence if you have nothing more to say.

King. 'I have nothing more to say, but I shall desire 'that this may be entred, what I have said.

President. The Court then, Sir, hath something to say unto you, which although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are willing, and are resolved to discharge their Duty.

Sir, you spake very well of a precious thing that you call Peace, and it had been much to be wished that God had put it into your Heart, that you had as effectually and really endeavoured and studied the Peace of the Kingdom, as now in words you seem to pretend; but as you were told the other day, *Actions must expound Intentions*, your Actions have been clean contrary; & truly Sir, it doth appear plainly enough to them, that you have gone upon very erroneous Principles; the Kingdom hath felt it to their smart, and it will be no ease to you to think of it, for, Sir, you have held your self, and let fall such Language, as if you had been no ways subject to the Law, or that the Law had not been your Superiour. Sir, the Court is very well sensible of it, and I hope so are all the understanding People of *England*, *That the Law is your Superiour*: That you ought to have Ruled according to the Law, you ought to have done so, Sir: I know very well your pretence hath been that you have done so, but Sir, the difference hath been, who shall be the *Expositors of this law*; Sir, whether You and your Party out of Courts of Justice, shall take upon them to expound Law, or the *Courts of Justice*, who are the Expounders; nay, the Soveraign and *the High Court of Justice*, the *Parliament of England*, who are not only *the highest Expounders*, but *the sole Makers of the Law*. Sir, for you to set your self with

your ſingle Judgment, and thoſe that adhere unto you, againſt *the higheſt Court of Juſtice, that is not Law*: Sir, as the Law is your Superiour, ſo truly Sir, there is ſomething that is Superiour to the Law, and that is indeed the *Parent or Author* of the Law, and that is *the People of England*. For Sir, as they are thoſe that at the firſt, (as other Countreys have done) did chuſe to themſelves this *Form of Government*, even for Juſtice ſake, that Juſtice might be adminſtred, that Peace might be preſerved; ſo Sir, they gave Laws to their Governours. according to which they ſhould govern; and if thoſe Laws ſhould have proved inconvenient, or prejudicial to the Publick, they had a power in them, and reſerved to themſelves, to alter as they ſhould ſee cauſe. Sir it is very true, what ſome of your ſide have ſaid, *Rex non habet parem in Regno*; This Court will ſay the ſame while *King, That you have not your Peer* in ſome ſence, for you are *Major ſingulis*, but they will averr again, that you are *Minor univerſis*; and the ſame Author tells you, that *in exhibitione juris*, there you have no power, but are *quaſi minimus*.

This we know to be Law, *Rex habet ſuperiorem, Deum & Legem, etiam & Curiam*, ſo ſayes the ſame Author; and truly Sir, he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent ei ponere frænum, They ought to bridle him*; and Sir, we know very well the ſtories of Old; Thoſe Wars that were called the *Barons Wars*, when the Nobility of the Land did ſtand out *for the Liberty and Property of the Subject*, and would not ſuffer the Kings that did invade to play the Tyrants here, but called them to account for it, we know that Truth, That they did *frænum ponere*: But Sir, if they do forbear to do their duty now, and are not ſo mindful of their own Honour and the Kingdoms good, certainly the *Commons* of *England* will not be unmindful of what is for their preſervation and for their ſafety: *Juſtitiæ fruendi cauſâ Reges conſtituti ſunt*. This we learn is the end of having Kings, or any other Governours, it's for the enjoying of Juſtice, that's the end. Now Sir, if ſo be the King will go contrary to the end of his Government; Sir, he muſt underſtand that he is but an Officer of truſt, and

he

he ought to discharge that trust, and they are to take order for the animadversion and punishment of such an offending Governour.

This is not Law of yesterday, Sir, (since the time of the division betwixt you and your people,) but it is Law of Old; And we know very well the *Authors* and *Authorities* that do tell us what the Law was in that point upon the Election of Kings, upon the *Oath* that they took unto their people, and if they did not observe it, there were those things called Parliaments; The *Parliaments* were they that were to adjudge (the very words of the *Author*) *the plaints and wrongs done of the King and Queen, or their Children; such wrongs especially, when the People could have no where else any remedy.* Sir, that hath been the people of *Englands* case, they could not have their remedy elsewhere but in *Parliament.*

Sir, *Parliaments* were ordained for that purpose to redress the grievances of the people that was their main end; and truly Sir, if so be that the Kings of *England* had been rightly mindful of themselves, they were never more in *Majesty and state* than in the *Parliament*: but how forgetful some have been *Histories* have told us; We have a miserable, a lamentable, a sad experience of it. Sir by the old Laws of *England*, (I speak these things the, rather to you, because you were pleased to let fall the other day, you thought you had as much knowledge in the Law as most Gentlemen in *England*; it is very well Sir. And truly Sir, it is very good for the Gentlemen of *England* to understand that Law under which they must live, and by which they must be governed. And then Sir, the *Scripture* says, *They that know their Masters Will and do it not*, what follows? The Law is your Master, the Acts of *Parliaments*;) the *Parliaments* were to be kept anciently, we find in our *Author*, twice in the year, *That the Subject upon any occasion, might have a ready remedy and redress for his Grievance.* Afterwards, by several Acts of *Parliament* in the dayes of your Predecessor *Edward* the third, they must have been once a year. Sir, what intermission of PAR-

LIAMENTS hath been in your time, it is very well known, and the ſad conſequences of it, and what in the interim inſtead of theſe Parliaments, hath been by you, by an high and *Arbitrary* hand introduced upon the people, that likewiſe hath been too well known and felt. But when God by his Providence had ſo brought it about that you could no longer decline the calling of a Parliament; Sir, yet it will appear what your ends were againſt the Ancient, and your Native King. of *Scotland*: The *Parliament* of *England*, not ſerving your ends againſt them, you were pleaſed to diſſolve it. Another great neceſſity occaſioned the calling of this Parliament, and what your Deſigns and Plots and Endeavours all along have been for the ruining and confounding of this Parliament, hath been very notorious to the whole Kingdom; and truly Sir, in that you did ſtrike at all; that had been a ſure way to have brought about that that this layes upon you, *Your Intention to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land.* For the great Bulwark of *Liberty of the People*, is the PARLIAMENT of *England*; and to Subvert and Root up that which your aim hath been to do, certainly at one blow you had confounded the Liberties and the Propriety of *England*,

Truly Sir, it makes me call to mind, I cannot forbear to expreſs it; for Sir, we muſt deal plainly with you, according to the merits of your cauſe, ſo is our Commiſſion; it makes me call to mind (theſe proceedings of yours) that we read of a great *Roman* Emperour, by the way let us call him *a great Roman Tyrant* Caligula, *That wiſht that the people of* Rome *had had but one Neck. that at one blow he might cut it off*: and your proceedings have been ſomewhat like to his, for the Body of the people of *England* hath been (and where elſe repreſented but) in the Parliament, and could you have but confounded that, you had at one blow cut off the Neck of *England*: but God hath reſerved better things for us, and hath pleaſed for to confound your Deſigns, and to break your Forces, and to bring your Perſon into Cuſtody, that you might be reſponſible to Juſtice.

Sir,

Sir, we know very well, That it is a Queſtion on your ſide very much preſs'd, *By what preſident we ſhall proceed*? Truly Sir, for *Preſidents*, I ſhall not at this preſent make any long diſcourſe, but it is no new thing to cite *Preſidents* almoſt of all *Nations*, where the people (when power hath been in their hands) have not ſticked to call their Kings to account, and where the change of *Government* hath enſued upon occaſions of the *Tyranny and Miſ-government* of thoſe that have been placed over them; I will not ſpend time to mention *France* or *Spain*, or the Empire or other Countries, Volumes may be written of them; But truly Sir, that of the King of *Arragon*, I ſhould think ſome of us have thought upon it, where they have the Juſtice of *Ar.* that is a Man *tanquam in medio poſitus*, betwixt the King of *Spain*, & the people of the Countrey, that if wrong be done by the K. he that is the K. of *Arragon*, the Juſtice hath power to reform the wrong, & he is acknowledged to be the K. Superiour, & is the grand preſerver of their Priviledges, & hath proſecuted Kings upon their miſcarriages.

Sir, What the Tribunes of *Rome* were heretofore, and what the *Ephori* were to the *Lacedæmonian State*, we know that is the Parliament of *England* to the *Engliſh State*; and though *Rome* ſeem to have loſt its *Liberty* when once the Emperours were, yet you ſhall find ſome famous Acts of Juſtice even done by the Senate of *Rome*; that great *Tyrant* of his time, *Nero*, condemned and judged by the *Senate*. But truly Sir, to you I ſhould not mention theſe Forreign examples and ſtories. If you look but over *Tweed*, we find enought in your Native Kingdom of *Scotland*. If we look to your firſt King *Fergusius*, that your ſtories make mention of, he was an Elective King, he died, aud left two Sons both in their Minority, the Kingdom made choice of their Unkle his Brother to govern in the Minority; afterwards the Elder Brother giving ſmall hopes to the people that he would Rule or Govern well, ſeeking to ſupplant that good Unkle of his, that governed them juſtly, they ſet the Elder aſide, and took to the Younger. Sir, if I ſhould come to what your ſtories make mention of, you know very well you are the 109*th* King of *Scotland*; for

for to mention so many Kings as that Kingdom, according to their Power and Priviledge, have made bold to dealwithal, some toBanish, and some toImprison, and some to put to Death, it would be too long; and as one of your Authors sayes, it would be too long to recite the manifold examples that your own stories make mentioned of; *Reges* (say they) we do Create, we Created Kings at first; *Leges*, &c. We imposed Laws upon them; and as they are Chosen by the suffrages, of the people at the first, so upon just occasion, by the same suffrages, they may be taken down again: and we will be bold to say, That no Kingdom hath yielded more plentiful experience than that your Native Kingdom of *Scotland* hath done, concerning the deposition and the punishment of their offending and transgressing Kings, *&c.*

It is not far to go for an example near you, your Grandmother set aside, and your Father an Infant crowned; and the State did it here in *England*; here hath not been a want of some examples, they have made bold (the Parliament and the people of *England*) to call their Kings to account, there are frequent examples of it in the *Saxons* time, the time before the Conquest; since the Conquest there wants not some Presidents neither; King *Edward* the Second, King *Richard* the Second, were dealt with so by the Parliament, as they were Deposed and deprived: and truly Sir, whoever shall look into their stories, they shall not find the Articles that are charged upon them to come near to that height and capitalness of Crimes that are layed to your charge, nothing near.

Sir, you were pleased to say the other day, wherein they descend, and I did not contradict it, but take altogether: Sir, if you were as the Charge speaks, & no otherwise admitted K. of *Eng.* but for that you were pleased then to alledge, how that almost for a Thousand Years these things have been, stories will tell you, if you go no higher than the time of the Conquest; if you do come down since the Conquest, you are the 24*th* King from *William* called the Conqueror, you shall find one half of them to come meerly from the State, and not meerly upon the

point

Point of Deſcent; it were eaſie to be inſtanced to you, the time muſt not be loſt that way. And truly Sir, what a grave and learned Judge ſaid in this time, and well known to you, is ſince Printed for Poſterity, *That although there was ſuch a thing as a Deſcent many times, yet the Kings of* England *ever held the greateſt aſſurance of their Titles, when it was declared by Parliament:* And Sir, your *Oath*, the manner of your *Coronation* doth ſhew plainly, That as to the Kings of *England*, though it's true by the Law the next Perſon in Blood is deſigned; yet if there were juſt cauſe to refuſe him, the People of *England* might do it. For there is a *Contract* and Bargain made between the *King* and his *People*, and your *Oath* is taken, and certainly Sir, the Bond is reciprocal; for as you are the liege Lord, ſo they liege Subjects, and we know very well what hath been ſo much ſpoken of, *Ligatio eſt duplex*. This we know now, the one tye, the one Bond, is the Bond of Perfection which is due from the Soveraign, the other is the Bond of Subjection that is due from the Subject. Sir, if this bond be once broken, farewel Soveraignty, *Subjectio trahit*, &c.

Theſe things may not be denyed, Sir; I ſpeak it the rather, and I pray God it may work upon your heart, that you may be ſenſible of your miſcarriages. For whether you have been, as by your Office you ought to be, *a Protector of* England, or *the Deſtroyer of* England, let all *England* judge, or all the world that hath look'd upon it. Sir, though you have it by *Inheritance* in the way that is ſpoken of, yet it muſt not be denyed that your Office was an Office of Truſt, and an Office of the higheſt truſt lodged in any ſingle perſon: For as you were the grand *Adminiſtrator of Juſtice*, and others were as your *Delegates* to ſee it done throughout your Realms, if your great Office were to do Juſtice, and preſerve your People from wrong, and inſtead of doing that you will be the *great wrong-doer your ſelf*; If inſtead of being a *Conſervator of the Peace*, you will be *the Grand Diſturber of the Peace*, ſurely this is contrary to your Office, contrary to your Truſt. Now Sir, if it be an Office of *Inheritance*, as you ſpeak of, your Title by *Deſcent*, let all men know that great

Offices

Offices are ſeizable and forfeitable; as if you had it but for a year, and for your life: Therefore Sir, it will concern you to take into your ſerious conſideration your great miſcarriages in this kind.

Truly Sir, I ſhall not particularize the many miſcarriages of your Reign whatſoever, they are famouſly known, it had been happy for the Kingdom, and happy for you too, if it had not been ſo much known and ſo much felt, as the ſtory of your miſcarriages muſt needs be, and hath been already.

Sir, That that we are now upon by the command of the *higheſt Court*, hath been and is to Trie and Judge you for great offences of *yours*. Sir, the *Charge* hath called you *Tyrant, a Traytor, a Murtherer, and a publick Enemy to the Common-wealth of* England. Sir, it had been well if that any of all theſe terms might rightly and juſtly have been ſpared, if any one of them at all.

King. 'Ha?

Preſident. Truly Sir, we have been told, *Rex eſt dum bene regit, Tyrannus qui populum opprimit*; and if ſo be that be the definition of a Tyrant, then ſee how you come ſhort of it in your Actions, whether the higheſt Tyrant by that way of Arbitrary Government, and that you have ſought to introduce, and that you have ſought to put, you were putting upon the people, whether that was not as high an Act of Tyranny as any of your Predeceſſors were guilty of, nay many degrees beyond it.

Sir, the term Traytor cannot be ſpared, we ſhall eaſily agree it muſt denote and ſuppoſe a breach of Truſt, and it muſt ſuppoſe it to be done by a Superior; and therefore Sir, as the people of *Eng.* might have incurred that reſpecting you, if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of Law; ſo on the other ſide, when you did break your Truſt to the King. you did break your Truſt to your Superior: For the King. is that for which you were truſted: And therefore Sir, for this breach of Truſt, when you are called to account, you are called to acccount by your Superiors. *Minimus ad Majorem in judicium vocat.* And Sir, the *people of England* cannot be ſo far wanting to themſelves,

ſelves, which God having dealt ſo miraculouſly and glorioufly for, they having power in their hand, and their great Enemy, they muſt proceed to do Juſtice to themſelves and to you: For, Sir, the Court could heartily deſire, That you would lay your hand upon your Heart, and conſider what you have done amiſs: That you would endeavour to make your peace with God. Truly Sir, Theſe are your high Crimes, Tyranny and Treaſon.

There is a Third thing too, if thoſe had not been, and that is Murther, which is laid to your charge. All the bloody Murthers that have been committed ſince the time that the Diviſion was betwixt You and your people, muſt be laid to your charge, that have been acted or committed in theſe late Wars. Sir, it is an heinous and crying ſin; and truly Sir, if any Man will ask us what puniſhment is due to a Murtherer, Let Gods Law, let Mans Law ſpeak. Sir, I will preſume that you are ſo well read in Scripture, as to know what God himſelf hath ſaid concerning *the ſhedding of Mans Blood*: Gen. 9. *Num.* 35. will tell you what the puniſhment is, and which this Court in behalf of the Kingdom are ſenſible of, of that Innocent blood that has bin ſhed, whereby indeed the Land ſtands ſtill defiled with that blood, and as the Text hath it, *It can no way be cleanſed, but with the ſhedding of the blood of him that ſhed this Blood.* Sir, we know no Diſpenſation from this blood in that Commandment, *Thou ſhalt do no Murther*; we do not know but that it extends to Kings, as well as to the meaneſt Peaſants, the meaneſt of the people, the command is univerſal. Sir, Gods Law forbids it, Mans Law forbids it, nor do we know that there is any manner of exception, nor even in Mans Laws, for the puniſhment of Murther in you. 'Tis true, that in the caſe of Kings every private hand was not to put forth it ſelf to this work for their Reformation and Puniſhment. But Sir, the people repreſented having Power in their hands, had there been but one wilful Act of Murther by you committed, had power to have convented you, and to have puniſhed you for it.

But then Sir, the weight that lies upon you in all thoſe reſpect-

reſpects that have been ſpoken, by reaſon of your *Tyranny*, *Treaſon*, *breach of Truſt*, and the *Murthers* that have been committed; ſurely Sir, it muſt drive you into a ſad conſideration concerning your Eternal condition: As I ſaid at firſt, I know it cannot be pleaſing to you to hear any ſuch things as theſe are mentioned unto you from this Court, for ſo we do call our ſelves, and juſtifie our ſelves to be a Court, and a *High Court of Juſtice*, Authorized by the higheſt and ſolemneſt Court of the Kingdom, as we have often ſaid; and although you do yet endeavour what you may to diſ-court us, yet we do take knowledge of our ſelves to be ſuch a Court as can adminiſter Juſtice to you, and we are bound, Sir, in duty to do it. Sir, all I ſhall ſay before the reading of your Sentence, it is but this; the Court does heartily deſire, that you will ſeriouſly think of thoſe evils that you ſtand guilty of. Sir, you ſaid well to us the other day, you wiſht us to have God before our eyes: Truly Sir, I hope all of us have ſo, that God that we know is a *King* of *Kings*, and *Lord* of *Lords*, that God with whom there is no reſpect of Perſons, that God that is the avenger of Innocent Blood, we have that God before us, that God that does beſtow a Curſe upon them that withhold their hands from ſhedding of Blood, which is the caſe of guilty Malefactors, and that do deſerve Death: That God we have before our eyes, that were it not that the Conſcience of our duty hath called us unto this place, and this imployment, Sir, you ſhould have had no appearance of a Court here: but Sir, we muſt prefer the diſcharge of our duty unto God, and unto the Kingdom, before any other reſpect whatſoever: and although at this time many of us, if not all of us, are ſeverely threatned by ſome of your Party, what they intend to do; Sir, we do here declare, that we ſhall not decline, or forbear the doing of our duty in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice even to you, according to the merit of your offence, although God ſhould permit thoſe Men to effect all that Bloody Deſign in hand againſt us. Sir, we will ſay, and we will declare it, as thoſe Children in the fiery Furnace, that would not worſhip the Golden Image

that

that *Nebuchadnezzer* had ſet up, *That their God was able to deliver them from that danger that they were near unto*; but yet if he would not do it yet, notwithſtanding that, they would not fall down and worſhip the Image: we ſhall thus apply it: That though we ſhould not be delivered from thoſe bloody Hands and Hearts that conſpire the overthrow of the Kingdom in general, of us in particular, for acting in this great work of Juſtice, though we ſhould periſh in the work, yet by Gods grace, and by Gods ſtrength, we will go on with it: And this is all our Reſolutions. Sir, I ſay for your ſelf, we do heartily wiſh and deſire, that God would be pleaſed to give you a ſence of your ſins, that you would ſee wherein you have done amiſs, that you may cry unto him, that God would deliver you from blood-guiltineſs. A good K. was once guilty of that particular thing, and was clear otherwiſe, ſaving in the matter of *Uriah*. Truly Sir, the Story tells us, that he was a repentant King, and it ſignifies enough that he had dyed for it, but that God was pleaſed to accept of him, and to give him his pardon: *Thou ſhalt not die, but the Child ſhall dye, thou haſt given cauſe to the enemies of God to blaſpheme.*

King. 'I would deſire only one word before you give 'ſentence, and that is, That you would hear me concern-'ing thoſe great imputations that you have laid to my 'charge.

Preſident. Sir you muſt give me leave to go on, for I am not far from your *Sentence*, and your time is now paſt.

King. 'But I ſhall deſire you will hear me a few 'words to you, for truly whatever *Sentence* you will put 'upon me, in reſpect of thoſe heavy *imputations* I ſee by 'your ſpeech you have put upon me, that I Sir, it is very 'true that ——

Preſident. Sir, I muſt put you in mind, Truly Sir, I would not willingly at this time, eſpecially, interrupt you in any thing you have to ſay, that is proper for us to admit of; but Sir, you have not owned us a Court, and you look upon us as a ſort of people met together, and

and we know what Language we receive from your party.

King. 'I know nothing of that.

Pref. You disavow us as a *Court*, and therefore for you to address your self to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what You say, it is not to be permitted; and the *truth* is all along from the first time, You were pleased to disavow and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard You one word; for unless they be acknowledged a Court and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak: *Sir*, we have given you too much liberty already, & admitted of too much delay, and we may not admit of any further; were it proper for us to do, we should hear You freely, and we should not have declined to have heard You at large, what you could have said or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excusing or for in part excusing those great and heinous *Charges* that in whole or in part are laid upon You. But Sir, I shall trouble You no longer, Your sins are of so large a dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them they will drive you to a sad consideration, they may improve in you a sad and serious repentance. And that the *Court* doth heartily wish, that You may be so penitent for what You have done amiss, that God may have mercy at leastwise upon your better part. Truly Sir, for the other, it is our parts and duties to do that that the Law prescribes, we are not here *Jus dare*, but *Jus dicere*; We cannot be unmindful of what the Scriptures tell, For *to acquit the guilty is of equal abomination as to condemn the innocent*; we may not acquit the guilty; what Sentence the Law affords to a Traitor, Tyrant, a Murtherer, and a publick Enemy to the Countrey, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the Sentence of the Court.

The Lord *President* commands the Sentence to be read. Make an O Yes, and command silence while the Sentence is read.

O Yes made, silence commanded.

The Clerk read the Sentence, which was drawn up in Parchment.

Whereas

Whereas the Commons of England *in* Parliament *have appointed them an high Court of Juſtice for the Trying of* Charles Stuart *King of* England, *before whom he had been three times convented, and at firſt time a charge of high Treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanors was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of* England, *&c.*

Here the Clerk read the Charge.

Which Charge being read unto him as aforeſaid, He the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, was required to give his Anſwer, but he refuſed ſo to do, and ſo expreſt the ſeveral paſſages at his Tryal in refuſing to Anſwer.

For all which Treaſons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That the ſaid Charles Stuart, *as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a publique Enemy, ſhall be put to Death, by the ſevering his Head from his Body.*

After the Sentence read, the Lord *Preſident* ſaid,

This Sentence now read and publiſhed, it is the *Act, Sentence, Judgment*, and Reſolution of the whole Court.

Here the Court ſtood up, as aſſenting to what the *Preſident* ſaid.

King. 'Will you hear me a word Sir?

Preſident. Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. 'No Sir?

Preſident. No Sir, by your favour Sir: Guard, withdraw your Priſoner

King. 'I may ſpeak after the *Sentence*.———.

By your favour, Sir, I may ſpeak after the *Sentence* 'ever.

'By your favour (hold) the *Sentence* Sir———

'I ſay Sir, I do ———

'I am not ſuffered for to ſpeak, expect what Juſtice o-'ther people will have.

O Yes, All manner of Perſons that have any thing elſe to do, are to depart at this time, and to give their attendance in the Painted Chamber, to which place this Court doth forthwith adjourn it ſelf.

Then the Court roſe, and the King went with his Guard

Guard to Sir *Robert Cottons*, and from thence to *White-Hall.*

The Names of thoſe Perſons that were preſent at the Sentencing of the KING to Death.

John Bradſhaw Preſident,
John Liſle,
William Say,
Oliver Cromwel,
Henry Ireton,
Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*,
Valentine Walton,
Thomas Harriſon,
Edward Whaley,
Thomas Pride,
Iſaac Ewers,
Lord *Gray* of Groby,
Sir *John Danvers* Knight,
Sir *Thomas Maleverer* Bar.
Sir *John Bourchier* Knight,
William Heveningham,
Alderman *Pennington*,
William Purefoy,
Henry Martin,
John Barkſtead,
John Blakiſton,
Gilbert Millington,
Sir *William Conſtable* Bar.
Edmond Ludlow,
John Hutchinſon,
Sir *Mich Liveſay* Bar.
Robert Tichborn,
Owen Roe,
Robert Lilburn,
Adrian Scroop,
Richard Deane,
John Okey,
John Hewſon,
William Goffe,
Cornelius Holland,
John Carew,
John Jones,
Miles Corbet,
Francis Allin,
Peregrine Pelham,
John Moore,
John Aldred,
Henry Smith,
Humphrey Edwards,
Gregory Clement,
Thomas Woogan,
Sir *Gregory Norton* Knight,
Edmond Harvy,
John Venn,
Thomas Scot,
Tho. Andrews Alderman,
William Cawly,
Anthony Stapley,
John Downes,
Thomas Horton,
Thomas Hammond,
Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Auguſtine Garland,
John Dixwel,
George Fleetwood,
Symon Meyne,
James Temple,
Peter Temple,
Daniel Blagrave,
Thomas Waite.

Or-

'Ordered that Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Coll. *Harriſon*, Col. 'General *Ireton*, Coll. *Dean*, and Coll. *Okey*, are appoin-'ted a Committee to conſider of the Time and Place 'for the Execution of the King, according to his Sen-'tence given by the High Court of Juſtice.

Painted Chamber, Lunæ, Jan. 29. 1648.

Upon report made from the Committee for conſidering of the Time and place of the executing of the Judgment againſt the King: That the ſaid Committee have reſolved that the open Street before *Whitehall* is a fit place; And that the ſaid Committee conceive it fit, that the King be there Executed the morrow, the King having already notice thereof; the Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpoſe, which Warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed unto; and ordered to be ingroſſed, which was done, and Signed & Sealed accordingly as followeth.

At the High Court of Juſtice for the Trying and Judging of *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, Jan. 29. 1648.

WHereas Charles Stuart *King of* England, *is, and ſtandeth Convicted, Attainted and Condemned of High Treaſon, and other high Crimes, and Sentence upon* Satur. *laſt was pronounced againſt him by this Court, to be put to death by the ſevering of his head from his body; of which Sentence, Execution yet remains to be done: Theſe are therefore to will and require you to ſee the ſaid Sentence Executed in the open ſtreet before* White-Hall, *upon the morrow, being the* 30*th day of this inſtant month of* January, *between the hours of Ten in the morning, and Five in the afternoon of the ſame day, with full effect; and for ſo doing, this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. And theſe are to require all Officers and Souldiers, and other the good people of this* Nation of England, *to be aſſiſting unto you in this ſervice.*

Given under our Hands and Seals,

To Coll. *Francis Hacker*, Coll. *Hunks*, and Lieuten. Coll. *Phray*, *and to every of them*

Sealed and ſubſcribed by

J. Bradſhaw. O. Cromwell, Hen. Ireton, Har. Waller, Jo. Liſle,

Liſle, Val. Walton, Tho. Gray, Ed. Whaley, Mich. Liveſey, Jo. Okey, Jo. Danvers, Tho. Maleverer, Wil. Goffe, Tho. Pride Tho. Harriſon, Jo. Hewſon, Ri. Dean, Robert Tichborn, Owen Roe, Jo. Barkſtead, G. Fleetwood, Gil. Milington, Tho. Horton, W. Say, W. Conſtable, Miles Corbet, Jo. Ven, Hen. Martin, &c.

Painted Chamber, *January* 30. 1648.

The Commiſſioners met, and ordered, That Mr. *Marſhall*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Carryll*, Mr. *Salway*, and Mr. *Dell*, be deſired to attend the King, to adminiſter to him thoſe Spiritual helps as ſhould be ſuitable to his preſent Condition, and Lieutenant Colonel *Goffe* is deſired forthwith to repair unto them for that purpoſe.

Who did ſo, but after informed the Court, that the King being acquainted therewith, refuſed to confer with them, expreſſing that he would not be troubled with them.

Ordered, That the Scaffold upon which the King is to be executed, be covered with Black.

The Warrant for executing the King being accordingly delivered to thoſe parties to whom the ſame was directed, Execution was done upon him according to the tenour of the Warrant about two of the Clock in the Afternoon of the ſaid 30. of *January*.

After Sentence, The King being hurried from their Bar, as he paſſed down the ſtairs, the common Souldiers (laying aſide all reverence to Soveraignty) ſcoffed at him, caſting the ſmoak of their ſtinking Tobacco in his face (no *Smell* more offenſive to him) and flinging their foul pipes at his feet; But one more inſolent than the reſt, defiled his venerable Face with his ſpittle, for his Majeſty was obſerved with much patience to wipe it off with his Handkerchief, as he paſſed; hearing them cry out Juſtice, Juſtice, *Poor ſoul* (ſaid he) *for a piece of Money they would do ſo for their Commanders.* That Night being Saturday, *Jan.* 27. the King lodged at *Whitehall*; that evening a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with the deſires of the King, that ſeeing they had paſſed Sentence of Death upon him, and the time of his execu-

execution might be nigh, that he might ſee his Children, and receive the *S*acrament, and that Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, might be admitted to pray with him in his private Chamber: both which were granted.

The next day being Sunday *January* 28. the King was attended by his Guard to *St. James*'s where the Biſhop of *London* Preached privately before him; his Text was in *Rom.* 2. 16. *In the day when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of men by Jeſus Chriſt, according to my Goſpel.*

Monday *Jan.* 29. His Children were permitted to come to him, where paſſed this following Diſcourſe, as it was ſet down in writing by his Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth*, (which Lady *Elizabeth* ſome months after, being confined to *Carisborugh-Caſtle* in the Iſle of *Wight*, died there with grief for the ſufferings of her Dear Father.)

'His Children being come to meet him, He firſt gave 'his Bleſſing to the L. *Elizabeth*, and bad her to remember 'to tell her Brother *James*, when-ever ſhe ſhould ſee him, 'that it was his Fathers laſt deſire that he ſhould no more 'look upon *Charles* as his eldeſt Brother only, but be obe-'dient unto him as his *S*overaign; and that they ſhould 'love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies 'Then ſaid the King to her, *S*weet-heart you'l forget, 'this: No (ſaid ſhe) I ſhall never forget it whileſt I live 'and pouring forth abundance of tears, promiſed him to 'write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloceſter* upon his knee ſaid, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers head (upon which words the Child looking very ſtedfaſtly on him,) Mark child what I ſay, They will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay you muſt not be a King, ſo long as your Brothers, *Charles* and *James* do live; for they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at laſt: and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the Child ſighing ſaid, I will be torn in pieces firſt: which falling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Tueſday

Tuesday Jan. 30. (The Fatal Day) He was about Ten of the Clock brought from his Pallace at *Saint James's* to *White-Hall*, marched on foot (guarded with a Regiment of foot *Souldiers*) through the Park, with their Colours flying, and Drums beating, his private Guard of Partizans about him, Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London* on one side, and Collon. *Thomlinson* on the other, both bare headed, bidding them go faster, saying, *That he now went before them to strive for an heavenly Crown with less solicitude, than he had often times bid his Souldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.* Being come to the end of the Park, he ascends the Stairs leading to the long Gallery in *White-Hall*, and so into the *Cabinet Chamber*, where he formerly used to Lodge; there his Majesty with the Bishop of *London* continued for some time in Devotion, and received the blessed Sacrament from the hand of the said Bishop; at which time he read for the second Lesson, the 27. Chapter of Saint *Mathews* Gospel, which contained the History of the Death and Passion of our blessed Saviour; the Communion ended, his Majesty thanked the Bishop for selecting so seasonable and comfortable a portion of Scripture. The Bishop modestly replied, No thanks were due to him, for it was the Chapter appointed by the *Rubrick* of the Church for the second morning Lesson for that day, being *Jan.* 30. Here the King continued at his Devotion, refusing to dine, only about Twelve of the Clock, he eat a bit of Bread, and drank a Glass of Claret, from thence about one a Clock he was accompanied by Dr. *Juxon* and Coll. *Thomlinson*, and other Officers formerly appointed to attend him, and the private Guard of Partizans, with Musketeers on each side, through the Banquetting house, adjoyning to which the *Scaffold* was erected, between *White hall* Gate, and the Gate leading into the Gallery from Saint *James's*: The *Scaffold* was hung round with Black, the Floor covered with black Bayes, and the Ax and Block laid in the middle of the *Scaffold*. There were divers Companies of Foot of Collonel *Prides* Regiment, and several Troops of Horse placed on the one side of the Scaffold toward *King-street*, and one the other side toward *Charing-Cross*, and

and the multitudes of people that came to be Spectators very great. The King being come upon the Scaffold, it was expected he would say somewhat to the people, the which he did.

But because we have no other Relation of what his Majesty then spake, save what was taken in short hand on the Scaffold by three several Gentlemen, who were very exquisite in that Art; nor had his Majesty any Copy (being surprized and hastened by those who attended him to the Scaffold,) save only a few heads in a little scrip of Paper, which after his death, the Souldiers took from the Bishop of London, *to whom he gave it: Therefore the Reader must be content with this Copy, which was by them upon joynt comparing of the Copies published, some few words being altered to make the sence perfect.*

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by the Troops of Horse, so that they could not come near to hear him, omitted what he had purposed to have spoken to them (as 'tis thought) and turning himself to the Souldiers and Officers (the Instruments of the Regicide) spake to them to this effect:

The King being come upon the Scaffold, look'd very earnestly upon the Block, and asked Coll. Hacker *if there were no higher: And then spake thus (directing his Speech chiefly to Coll.* Thomlinson.)

King. 'I Shall be very little heard of any body here, 'I shall therefore speak a word unto you here: 'Indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not 'think that holding my peace would make some men 'think, that I did submit to the Guilt as well as to the 'Punishment; but I think it is my duty to God first, and 'to my Countrey, for to clear my self both as an honest 'Man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin 'first with my *Innocency*; In troth, I think it not very 'needful for me to insist long upon this, for all the world 'knows that I never did begin a War with the two hou-'ses of Parliament, and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, That I never did in-

'tend for to encroach upon their Priviledges, they be-
'gan upon me; it is the Militia they began upon: they
'confeſt that the *Militia* was mine, but they thought it
'fit for to have it from me: and to be ſhort, if any body
'will look to the dates of Commiſſions, of their Com-
'miſſions and mine, & likewiſe to the Declarations, will ſee
'clearly that they began theſe unhappy troubles, not I:
'So that as to the guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that
'are laid againſt me, I hope in God that God will clear
'me of it; I will not, I am in Charity: God forbid
'that I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parliament,
'there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of
'this guilt: for I do believe that ill inſtruments between
'them and me, has been the chief cauſe of all this blood-
'ſhed: ſo that by way of ſpeaking, as I find my ſelf clear
'of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too:
'yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chri-
'ſtian as not to ſay that Gods Judgments are juſt upon
'me: Many times he does pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sen-
'tence, that is ordinary. I will only ſay this, That unjuſt
'Sentence * that I ſuffered for to take effect
Strafford. 'is puniſhed now by an unjuſt Sentence up-
'on me: So far I have ſaid, to ſhew you
'that I am an Innocent man.

'Now for to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian; I
'I hope there is (* *Pointing to Dr.* Juxon,) a good man
'that will bear me witneſs, That I have forgiven all the
'world, and even thoſe in particular that have been the
'chief cauſers of my death; who they are, God knows
'I do not deſire to know, I pray God forgive them. But
'this is not all, my Charity muſt go further, I wiſh that they
'may repent, for indeed they have committed a great
'ſin in that particular: I pray God with St. *Stephen*, that
'this be not laid to their charge, nay, not only ſo, but
'that they may take the right way to the peace of the
'Kingdom; for my Charity commands me, not only to
'forgive particular men, but my Charity commands me
'to endeavour to the laſt gaſp the Peace of the Kingdom.
'So (Sir) I do wiſh with all my Soul (and I do hope

'there

'there is some here * will carry it fur-
'ther) that they may endeavour the Peace
'of the Kingdom.

* *Turning to some Gentlemen that wrote,*

'Now (Sirs) I must shew you both
'how you are out of the way, and will put
'you in the way: First, you are out of the way. For cer-
'tainly all the way, you ever have had yet, as I could
'find by any thing, is in the way of Conquest; certainly
'this is an ill way: For Conquest (Sirs) in my opinion is
'never just, except there be a good just Cause, either for
'matter of wrong, or just Title, and then if you go be-
'yond it, the first quarrel that you have to it, is it that
'makes it unjust at the end that was just at first: But if
'it be only matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery,
'as a Pirate said to *Alexander*, that he was the great Robber,
'he was but a petty Robber: and so, Sirs I do think the
'way that you are in, is much out of the way. Now, Sirs, for
'to put you in the way, believe it, you will never do
'right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give
'God his due, the King his due (that is my Successors) and
'the people their due: I am as much for them as any of
'you: You must give God his due, by regulating rightly
'his Church, (according to his Scriptures which is now
'out of order: For to set you in a way particularly
'now I cannot, but only this, *A National Synod freely*
'*called*, freely debating among themselves, must settle
'this; when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

'For the King indeed I will not —— (*Then turning to*
'*a Gentleman that touched the Ax: said*, Hurt
'not the Ax that may hurt * me) For the
'King, the Laws of the Land will clearly in-
'struct you for that: therefore, because it
'concerns my own particular, I only give
'you a touch of it.

* *Meaning if he did blunt the edg.*

'For the people: and truly I desire their Liberty and
'freedom as much as any body whosoever, but I must
'tell you, that their Liberty and freedom consists in hav-
'ing of Government, those Laws by which their Life and
'their Goods may be most their own. It is not for hav-
'ing

'ing ſhare in Government (Sirs) that is nothing pertain-
'ing to them: A Subject and a Soveraign are clear dif-
'ferent things, and therefore until they do that, I mean,
'That you do put the people in that Liberty, as I ſay, cer-
'tainly they will never enjoy themſelves.

'Sirs, It was for this that now I am come here; If I
'would have given way to an Arbritary way for to have
'all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword,
'I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell
'you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that
'*I am the Martyr of the people.*

'In troth Sirs, I ſhall not hold you much longer, for I
'will onely ſay this to you, that in truth I could have de-
'ſired ſome little time longer, becauſe I would have put
'this that I have ſaid in a little more order, and a little
'bitter digeſted than I have done, and therefore I hope
'you will excuſe me.

'I have delivered my Conſcience, I pray God that
'you do take thoſe courſes that are beſt for the good of
'the Kingdom, and your own ſalvations.

Dr. Juxon. *Will your Majeſty (though it may be very well known, your Majeſties affections to Religion, yet it may be expected that you ſhould) ſay ſomewhat for the worlds ſatisfaction.*

King. 'I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that;
'I had almoſt forgotten it. In troth Sirs My Conſcience
'in Religion I think is very well known to all the world,
'and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Chri-
'ſtian according to the Profeſſion of the Church of *England*,
'as I found it left me by my Father, and this
* *Pointing to Dr. Juxon.* 'honeſt man* I think will witneſs it. *Then*
'*turning to the Officers ſaid*, Sirs, excuſe me
'for this ſame, I have a good cauſe, and I have
'a gracious God, I will ſay no more. *Then*
'*turning to Collonel* Hacker, he ſaid; Take care they do
'not put me to pain, and Sir, this and it pleaſe you.
'*But then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King ſaid,*
'Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax. *Then*
the King ſpeaking to the Executioner, ſaid, I ſhall ſay
'but

'but very ſhort Prayers, and when I thruſt out my hands ——

Then the King called to Doctor *Juxon*, for his Night-cap and having put it on, he ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my hair trouble you?* who deſired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Biſhop: Then the King turning to Doctor *Juxon*, ſaid, *I have a good Cauſe, and a gracious God on my ſide.*

Doctor *Juxon.* There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troubleſome, it is a ſhort one: But you may conſider, it will ſoon carry you a very great way: It will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you ſhall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown; where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the world,*

Doctor *Juxon.* You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The King then ſaid to the Executioner, is my hair well? Then the King took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to Doctor *Juxon*, ſaying, Remember (* *It is thought for to give it to the Prince.*) Then the King put off his Doublet, and being in his Waſtcoat, put his Cloak on again, then looking upon the Block, ſaid to the Executioner, *You muſt ſet it faſt.*

Executioner. It is faſt Sir.

King. *When I put my hands out this way, ſtretching them out, then.* ——

After that, having ſaid two or three words (as he ſtood) to himſelf, with hands and eyes lift up; Immediately ſtooping-down laid his Neck upon the Block: and then the Executioner again putting his hair under his Cap, the King ſaid (thinking he had been going to ſtrike) Stay for the ſign.

Executioner. Yes, I will and it pleaſe your Majeſty.

And after a very little pauſe, the King ſtretching forth his hands, the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body. The head being off, the Executioner held

it up, and ſhewed it to the people; which done, it was with the Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpoſe, and conveyed into his Lodgings there: And from thence it was carried to his houſe at Saint *James*'s where his body was embalmed and put in a Coffin of Lead, laid there a fortnight to be ſeen by the people; and on the Wedneſday ſeven-night after, his Corps embalmed and coffined in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the care of four of his Servants, *viz.* Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Anthony Mildmay*, his Sewers, Captain *Preſton*, and *John Joyner*, former Cook to his Majeſty; they attended with others cloathed in mourning Suits and Cloaks, accompanied the Herſe that night to *Windſor*, placed it in that which was formerly the Kings Bed-chamber; next day it was removed into the *Deans Hall*, which Room was hanged with Black, and made dark; Lights burning round the Herſe, in which it remained till Three in the Afternoon, about which time came the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, the Earl of *Lyndſey*, having obtained an Order from the Parliament for the decent Interment of the King their Royal Maſter, provided the expence thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds: At their coming into the Caſtle, they ſhewed their Order of Parliament to Collonel *Wichcot* Governour of the Caſtle deſiring the Interment might be in St. *Georges* Chappel, and by the Form in the Common-Prayer Book of the Church of *England*; this requeſt was by the Governour denyed, ſaying It was improbable that the Parliament would permit the uſe of what they had ſo ſolemnly aboliſhed, and therein deſtroy their own Act. To which the Lords replyed, There is a difference betwixt deſtroying their own Act, and diſpenſing with it, and that no Power ſo binds its own hands, as to diſable it ſelf in ſome caſes: All could not prevail, the Governour perſiſting in the Negative, the Lords betook themſelves to the ſearch of a convenient place for the Burial of the Corps; the which after ſome pains taking therein, they diſcover a Vault in the middle of the Quire, wherein, as is probably conjectured, lyeth the body of King *Henry* the

the Eighth, and his beloved Wife the Lady *Jane Seamor*, both in Coffins of Lead; in this Vault there being Room for one more, they resolve to inter the body of the King; the which was accordingly brought to the place, born by the Officers of the Garison, the four Corners of the Velvet Pall born up by the aforesaid four Lords, the pious Bishop of *London* following next and other Persons of Quality; the Body was committed to the earth with sighs and tears, especially of the Reverend Bishop, to be denyed to do the last Duty and Service to his Dear and Royal Master; the Velvet Pall being cast into the Vault was laid over the Body; upon the Coffin was these words set,

KING CHARLES, 1648

His Majesty intended to have delivered in writing the following Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice *Monday Jan.* 22. 1648, but was not permitted.

HAving already made My protestations, not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly power can justly call Me (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer My self to what I have spoken, were I in this case alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true liberty of my people, will not suffer me at this time to be silent. For, how can any free-born Subject of England, *call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his own; if power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Laws of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore, when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me, concerning these grounds which hinder me to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest man in* England; *for, I will not (like you) without shewing a Reason, seek to impose a belief upon my Subjects.*

There is no proceeding just against any Man, but what is war-

ranted either by Gods Laws or the municipal Laws of the Coun. where he lives. Now I am most confident, this days proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law. for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted, & strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denyed, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand there it is said, That where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccl. 8. 4. Then for the Law of this land I am no lesse confident that a learned Lawyer will affirm that an impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in His Name: and one of their Maximes is, That the King can do no wrong. Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Lawes without King or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of England.

* Hereabout the King was stopt, and not suffer'd to speak any more concerning Reason.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of Englands Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man in the Kingdom; and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Plough-man, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent, at least of the major part of every man in England, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true Liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in the power of Government but in living under such Laws, such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their Lives, and propriety of their Goods. Nor in this must or doe I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes proceedings do not only violate, but likewise

wiſe occaſion the greateſt breach of their publick Faith, that (I believe ever was heard of; with which I am far from charging the two Houſes: for all the pretended crimes laid againſt Me bear date long before this late Treaty at Newport, *in which I having concluded, as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houſes agreement thereunto, I was ſuddenly ſurprized, and hurried from thence as a priſoner, upon which account I am againſt my will brought hither; where ſince I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Lawes and* Liberties *of this Kingdom, together with my own juſt right. Then for any thing I can ſee, the higher Houſe is totally excluded. And for the Houſe of Com.it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from ſitting; ſo as if I had no other, this were ſufficient for me to proteſt againſt the lawfullneſſe of your pretended Court. Beſides all this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the leaſt in My thoughts; and what hopes of ſettlement is there, ſo long as Power reigns without Rule or* Law, *changing the whole frame of that Government, under which this Kingdom hath flouriſhed for many hundred years? (nor will I ſay what will fall out, in caſe this lawleſſe unjuſt proceeding againſt Me doe go on) and believe it, the Commons of* England *will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years, under the reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *the King my Father, and My ſelf, until the beginning of theſe unhappy Troubles, and will have cauſe to doubt that they ſhall never be ſo happy under any new. And by this time it will be too ſenſibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were onely to defend the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, againſt thoſe who have ſuppoſed My power hath totally changed the antient Government.*

Thus having ſhewed you briefly the Reaſons why I cannot ſubmit to your pretended Authority, without violating the truſt which I have from God for the welfare and liberty of my people; I expect from you either clear Reaſons to convince My judgment, ſhewing Me that I am in an Error (and then truly I will anſwer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to ſpeak in *Weſtminſter-Hall* on Monday, *January* 22 but againſt Reaſon was hindred.

After the *Regicides* had committed this horrid and nefarious Act, the prevailing Power conſiſting of a parcht

number of the House of Commons, and the chief Officers of the Army, combined together, and seeing how successfully and unopposed they had effected this so unparallel'd a Deed, to which they knew the generality of the Nation were utterly averse, and as far as they durst, shew'd their absolute dislike; they in the next place fall upon the alteration of the Government, thinking to make sure work by subverting the Ancient Monarchy of this Realm, and instead thereof introducing that which they called a *Free State, or Commonwealth.* For constituting of which the first thing they did, was to Vote and publish by Proclamation, *That whereas several pretences might be made to the Crown,* &c. *to the appavent hazard of the publick Peace, no Person whatsoever should presume to proclaim or any way promote* Charles Stuart, *Son of the said* Charles *late King of* England, *or any other person to be King or chief Magistrate,* &c, *by colour of Inheritance, or any other claim whatsoever, without the free Consent of the People in* Parliament; first *signified by a particular Act for that purpose, any Law or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding; and whosoever should contrary to this Order proclaim,* &c. *shall be adjudged a Traitor, and suffer accordingly.*

This proceeding was founded upon a Maxim which they had taken up, and agreed on among themselves, namely, *That all power and Authority is Originally in the People:* But well knowing that their Councils had soon been confounded, and themselves interrupted in the course they had begun, if they had incorporated again with those of their Members, which had been forcibly kept out by the Army, they Resolve and decree, 1. *That all those Members who had assented to the Vote of* December. 5. *concerning the Kings Concessions* (for that was the occasion of their seclusion) *should never be readmitted, and those that Voted in the Negative, should presently enter their said dissent, or before they were to be admitted.*

And together with the fortune of Monarchy was involved that of the *House of Peers,* who having sent to desire a Conference about setling the Government, in re-

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gard the Judges Commissions were determined by the Kings Death; instead of an Answer to their Message, the *Junto* of the Commons upon debate Voted, the Lords House to be *useless and dangerous*, and therefore to be laid aside, as in like manner they declared the Kingly office to be *unnecessary* and *Burthensom*, and therefore fit to be abolished; only they allowed the Lords the Priviledge of being capable to be chosen Burgesses into the House of Commons; But the Lords were so highly incensed thereat, that there was suddenly published a Declaration in the name of all the Peers and Barons of the Realm, wherein they protest against the Proceedings of the Commons. And a while after some of the Kings friends in despite of all Votes, Acts, and Orders to the contrary, promoted a Proclamation, in the name of all the Nobility Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdom, for proclaiming *Charles* our present Soveraign to be King of *England*.

But little could unarmed Declarations prevail against the reigning Power of an Armed faction, who now assumed new Ensigns of Soveraignty, cancelling the Old, and caused all Writs, Commissions, and Instruments of publick Concernment, to be issued out under a new Stile and Test, that is, of *The Keepers of the Liberties of* England *by Authority of Parliament*. They ordered the old Great Seal to be broken, and a new one to be made, with the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* on one side, and this Inscription *The Great Seal of* England; and on the other side the House of Commons with this Inscription, *In the first Year of Freedom by Gods blessing restored*, 1648. and appointed the Money to bear the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this *Motto, God with us*; and the Great Seal was intrusted with three Commissioners: They likewise caused the Kings Arms to be pulled down every where, and the Kings Picture in the *Old Exchange* they caused to be defaced, and the following Inscription to be set behind it in Golden Letters: *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ Restitutæ Primo Anno* 1648. *Jan.* 30.

They next proceed to erect another Illegal High Court of Justice, wherein they brought to Tryal D. *Hamilton*

taken

taken at the fight at *Preſton*, the E. of *Holland* at *Kingſton* Fight, and the L. *Capell* and L. *Goring* taken at the Seige of *Colcheſter*; The three firſt were Condemned and beheaded at the *Palace-yard* at *Weſtminſter*; After this the L. *Fairfax* having laid down his Commiſſion, the Parliament made *Oliver Cromwell* their General, who a while after was ſent into *Ireland*, where he proved very ſucceſsfull.

His Majeſty was now in *France*, and hoped to get aid there, but found none; but the *Junto* proceeded to make Sale of the King and Queens Lands, and made a formal Act for aboliſhing Kingly Government and diſinheriting the Royal Iſſue, and ſetting up a *Republick or Free State*; This Act Alderman *Reynardſon* was commanded to proclaim in the City; which he refuſing, was committed to the *Tower*, with three Aldermen more; and a new Lord Major was choſen by a *Common-Hall*, who attended with ſeveral other Alderman as complyant as himſelf, readily obeyed the Commands of his Maſters, and proclaimed their Edict in ſeveral places of the City.

Nor could the poſſeſſion of one Rich Kingdom ſatisfy the aſpiring minds of the Uſurpers; *England* was already wholly ſubjected to their Power, *Scotland* not yet mature for Invaſion; *Ireland* is next the object of their Ambition; for the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, being made L. Lieutenant by the late King, and ſeeing a neceſſity of cloſing with the confederated *Iriſh*, and uniting all Intereſts there, againſt the Common Enemy, he concluded a Peace with the moſt conſiderable Party of the Confederates, upon their ſubmiſſion, and the Profeſſion of their Obedience to his Majeſty; and on the Marqueſſes part, the conceſſion of certain Articles, which according to the neceſſity of Affairs yielded them many Ample Priviledges and Advantages; Having got together a conſiderable number of Forces, and being alſo aſſiſted by the L. *Inchequin*, the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, and the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, the L. Lieutenant deſigned to reduce thoſe places in *Ireland*, which yet held out for the *Engliſh* Republick, which were only *Dublin*, *Londonderry*, *Trim*, and

Tredagh

Tredagh of any regard; of which the 3 laſt upon a defeat, ſurrendred to the Kings Forces; But *Dublin* being of chiefeſt conſequence, the L Lieuten. endeavoured to gain it by all means poſſible; Coll. *Michael Jones* was Governor, and the Marqueſs with the conjunction of *Taffe*, *Preſton*, and others of the confederate *Iriſh* Forces that had declared for the King made up a Gallant Army, a richer having ſcarce been ſeen in all the late Wars; *June* 29. 1649. the Siege began, and had in all probability ſucceeded, but for the Differences and Animoſities between the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Commanders; and likewiſe the L. Lieutenants unwillingneſs to attacque the City, out of a tender reſpect to the *Proteſtants* within; the neceſſity alſo of drawing off ſome part of the Forces for the defence of *Munſter* againſt the *Engliſh*; and on the other ſide the unanimity among the Garriſon Souldiers within the City, and the vigilance and Courage of their Governor; emboldened by theſe Conſiderations, the Beſieged took courage firſt with ſlight excurſions, & afterward having diſcovered the ſecurity and careleſs poſture of thoſe that were ſet to Guard a certain Fort which they attempted, they with their whole ſtrength ſally out upon them, not fearing to venture even upon the main Army; and ſo far did Fortune favour this their bold attempt, that being incouraged by the weak reſiſtance they met with to venture further on, in a ſhort while they utterly defeated them, with little loſs on their own ſide, killing and taking very many Priſoners, and poſſeſſing themſelves intirely of the whole Camp, abounding in very rich Booty, & Plenty of all things, the Marqueſs himſelf hardly eſcaping.

Soon after, the Siege of *Londonderry* was raiſed by Sir *Cha. Coot*; and *Crom.* is ſent into *Ireland* with 4 Regiments of Horſe, 7 Regiments of Foot and one of Dragoons, being inveſted with the Title of Lord Governor or Lieut. of *Ireland*; next to whom in power was his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, who with 40 Sail of Ships tranſported the Army; *Cromwell* after a ſhort ſtay in *Dublin*, marched with great expedition to *Drogheda*, or *Tredagh*, which had been reinforced

forced by the Marqueſs of *Ormond* with a ſupply of 2500 Foot, and 200 Horſe of the choiceſt of his Forces, with divers Reſolute and ſtout Commanders, among whom Sir *Arthur Aſton*, heretofore Governour of *Reading* for the late King, was made Governor; there wanted in the Defendants neither Courage nor Fidelity for keeping the Town; but ſuch was the force and fortune of the Aſſailants, that after ſeveral furious and ſucceſsful Onſets, which coſt them dear enough, the Town was at laſt taken by ſtorm, and in revenge of their reſolute ſtanding out, Sir *Arthur Aſton*, Sir *Ed. Varney*, Coll. *Warren*, *Tempeſt*, *Finglas* with other chief Commanders, and all the reſt that were within the Town, whether Garriſon Souldiers or Inhabitants were by *Cromwells* Order, far unbecoming the zeal and Religion he pretended, put all to the Sword, except ſome very few Perſons who hid themſelves till the Ravage was over, and the edge of deſtroying fury abated; *Wexford* was next ſurprized by the Treachery of one *Stafford* the Governor, even in the very ſight of the Marqueſs of *Ormond* who came to relieve it; Then followed the taking of *Roſs*, *Kilkenny*, *Carrick*, and the reſt of the moſt important Towns and Caſtles in all parts of *Ireland*; beſides ſeveral Field Fights ſucceſsfully fought by the L. *Broghill*, Sir *Charles Coot*, Coll. *Zanchy*, *Reynolds*, *Hewſon*, and *Venables*; And no great wonder, ſince they were continually ſupplied by their Maſters in *England*, a competent number of Ships attending on that occaſion; on the other ſide many reſolute attempts were made by the L. *Lieutenant*, and other maintainers of the Royal Intereſt; but through ſhortneſs of Pay, increaſing of diviſions among them, and want of the Kings preſence, which was much deſired, and was judged would have very much conduced to his Intereſt in that Kingdom, from theſe diſcouragements, not only great numbers of their men, but Towns and Cities fell off to the well paid, and therefore prevailing ſide; ſo that in leſs than a year all *Ireland* was in a manner totally ſubdued to the power of the Republick.

About this time the Kings Fleet under P. *Rupert* is ruined

ned by ſeveral misfortunes, and P. *Maurice* his Brother was caſt away in the Vice Admiral.

The Parliament of *Scotland* had reſolved ſome time ſince to Own and Treat with his preſent Majeſty, and he was ſolemnly Proclaimed by their Order at *Edenburgh. Feb.* 3. 1648. and in *September* following after great debates among them, Mr. *Windram* Laird of *Libberton* was appointed Meſſenger; His Majeſty had ſtaid ſome time at St. *Germains* in *France* in expectation of ſome Meſſage; which not receiving, he takes his leave of the Queen Mother, and the *French* Court, and ſteers his Courſe for the Iſle of *Jerſey*, as moſt commodious for the *Scotch* Commiſſioners; upon his firſt arrival in the Iſland he was proclaimed King, and the L. *Jermyn* was made Governor of the Iſland; here the L. *Windram* found His Majeſty, and preſented him with the deſires and offers of the States of *Scotland*, which were to this effect; *That His Majeſty would ſign the Solemn League and* Covenant, *and paſs an Act for all* Perſons *to take it through out the Kingdom of* Scotland, *and confirm all that had been done there concerning the ſame; that he would withdraw his Commiſſions from the Marqueſs of* Montroſs; *that he would put away all* Papiſts *from about him, and let none be of his Council but known* Proteſtants, with ſeveral other particulars; and at laſt after many Conſultations, *Breda* in *Holland* was appointed for the place of a Solemn Treaty, where Commiſſioners from the State and Kirk met the King.

At this time His Majeſty had Ambaſſadors and Envoys reſiding in the Courts of ſeveral great Princes and States, as at *Moſco*, *Venice*, *Germany*, *Turky*, and *Spain*, to ſollicite their Aid and Aſſiſtance for the recovery of his Fathers Kingdoms; many Complements no doubt they they received, and many fair pretences of their good will to help him, as the cuſtom of the world is, as well among Princes as thoſe of lower Degree, but for the moſt part little or nothing beſide; ſo little regarded is the condition of a Perſon depreſt in Fortune, though a Prince; the moſt ſolemn Embaſſy, and of which there

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was most hope, was that to the King of *Spain*; wh- how it succeeded will appear by the Answer given to the Lord *Cottington*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*, His Majesties Ambassadors to that King, who at length were admitted to have Audience; The substance of the Embassy was, 1. *That the* Parliament *of* England *having been in Arms against his Father, had prevailed against him, and caused him to be put to death.* 2. *That he being the Son and Heir of the said* Charles *late King of* Great Brittain *and* Ireland, *was kept out of his Kingdoms by the said* Parliament. 3. *That he desired his Neighbourly assistance, that he would afford him what aid he could to establish him into his Rights and Dignities in the Kingdoms.* To this the King of *Spain* made answer; *That he was sorry for his Fathers ill success, wishing that he had been more prosperous,* 2. *That he condoled with him for his Fathers death, and was much affected with sorrow at the manner of it*; 3. *That concerning the difference between him and the* Parliament, *and the Right on the one and the other side, they being matters out of his Territories and Jurisdictions he could not take cognizance of them, nor should he meddle therein, but for any thing within his own Dominions, he should be willing to do him what lawful favour he could*; It is in vain to sue for help to those, against whose Intereſt it is to afford it; this King, notwithstanding the sorrow he profest for his late Majesties death, thinking it most for his Profit to comply with the prevailing Party, was the first that own'd the Power of the *English* Commonwealth, and shewed himself desirous to enter into a League with them.

During the *Scots* Treaty, the Marques of *Montross* was seized in *Scotland*, and for oppoſing the Kirk Party, was condemned and Executed upon a Gibbet near fifty foot high, with all imaginable Contempt; which His Majesty having an account of, was much troubled, and the Treaty had like to have been broken off, but at length through the necessity of Affairs was concluded, and being carried to *Edenburgh*, after much debate it was resolved, another Message should be sent to invite the King over; but the Parliament here in *England* having

ving notice of theſe Proceedings in *Scotland*, prepared an Army thereupon to invade *Scotland*, under the command of their General *Oliver Cromwell*.

And now the King being arrived at *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*, ſome Lords were ſent down to accompany him to *Edenburgh:* as he came along he was entertained with the general Joy of all the People, and at *Aberdeen* he was preſented with 1500 Pounds, which thing was ill taken by the *Committee of Eſtates*; and therefore they ſent an Injunction to prohibit other places from doing the like; The King being now come to *Edenburgh* was again Proclaimed King, *July* 15. 1650 but his Coronation was deferred by reaſon of the then Troubles, ſince the *Engliſh* Army was upon the Borders, and the *Scots* now began to think how to defend themſelves, and therefore marched under the Command of *Montgomery*, and ſet upon the *Engliſh* at *Muſcleborough*, but were worſted by them, and at *Dunbar* the *Engliſh* wholly routed them, taking the paſs there.

At the ſame time the *Scots* were divided among themſelves into three Parties, but the King returning with *Montgomery* to St. *Johnſton*, they were all reconciled, & the King on Ja. 1. 1650. was Crowned at *Scone*; and ſoon after ſet up his Standard at *Aberdeen*, reſolving to be himſelf *Generaliſſimo* of the *Scotch* Army; About which time Sir *Hen. Hyde* was beheaded at *London* for his Loyalty; and not long after Captain *Brown*; *Buſhell* received the like Doom, for performing ſome ſignal ſervices to the King; the King began to fortifie *Sterling*, and the *Engliſh* drew near it: and *Cromwell* perceiving he could not draw the *Scots* to a Field Battle, ſuddenly tranſported over *Fife* 1600 foot; and four Troops of Horſe, who with the help of *Lambert* and *Okey*. routed the *Scots* under Sir *John Brown*, taking him and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality Priſoners, killing 2000 on the place, and taking about 120 Priſoners; not long after Mr. *Gibbons* and Mr. *Love* were Beheaded on *Tower-hill* upon the diſcovery of a Plot in *England* againſt the *Parliament* by the *Presbyterians*.

The King ſeeing the *Engliſh* prevail ſo faſt, thought it beſt to quit *Scotland*, and ſo marched for *England*, *July* 30. 1651. which *Cromwell* obſerving, ſent *Lambert* after him with a ſelect Party of Horſe: The Kings Army being now in *England*, the Parliament cauſed numerous Forces to be raiſed in moſt Counties in *England*, and his Majeſty marched on to *Worceſter*, and fortified it: In the mean time Maj. Gen. *Lambert* gained the paſs at *Upton*, by a deſperate attempt, in cauſing ſome of his Troopers to ſwim the River on Horſeback, carrying their Piſtols and Holſters in their hands to ſave them from wet; whereby they put Maj. Gen. *Meſſey* and his men to the Retreat, ſo that the Kings Party was forced

ced to quit the Town, and leave the pass to the Parliamentarians who quickly made a Bridge over the River; and *Cromwell* joining with the rest of the Forces against the King, after some Salley out of the Town against them; at length the King in the Front of his men, sallied out of Town on *Sept.* 3. 1651. and so valiantly charged *Cromwells* Life-Guard, that they were forced to retire, till seconded by fresh Forces, they put the Kings Party to the Retreat; and the King had his Horse twice shot under him, and not able to rally again, they were forced to fly into the Town, where *Cromwells* Party entred Pell Mell with them; and then the Cry went, *Save the King, Save the King.*

The King seeing all lost, with some of his Nobles and Servants; escaped with much difficulty to a Farmers House in *Staffordshire*; where he disrobed himself, and for want of Sciffers; had his Hair cut off with a Knife; and so with the Company of one Friend (who brought him Provision towards night) he betook himself to a Wood, where he made an Oak his Palace; the Souldiers hunting about for him, and a thousand Pound promised as a Reward to those that could take him, It is supposed there were about three thousand slain at *Worcester*, and seven hundred taken Prisoners, and not long after the E. of *Derby*. who was one of them, was Beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*.

His Majesty through many dangers and difficulties arrived at last safely at *Paris* in *France*; And a while after *O. Cromwell*, *April* 20. 1653. Dissolved the long Parl. which had sate 12 years, 6 months & 17 days. In this year and the next, there were 5 bloody Engagements at Sea against the *Dutch*, in most of which the *English* were Victorious. *O. Cromwell* called another *Junto* this year, which was termed the *Little Parl.* who sate some short time, and then delivered back their Power to him from whom they had received it; And *Decemb.* 16. 1653. *Cromwell* was Sworn L. Protector of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, &c. And so the Government was now again in a single Person, and in *April* after, the Protector concluded a Peach with the *Dutch*, whose aid and assistance the King had strongly solicited against him.

His Majesty after this sought a reconciliation between *France* & *Spain*, and hoping thereby to further his own Interest, he left *France*, and departed for *Germany*, accompanied with his Cousin P. *Rupert*; about which time *Cromwell* had discovered a Plot in *England* against his Authority, and Collonel *Gerrard* and Mr. *Vowel* suffered for the same at *Tower-hill*; *Scotland* began likewise to stir again; the Earl of *Glencarn*, *Monro*, and *Middleton* having gotten some Forces together, intended to have prosecuted the Kings Cause, but they were routed by General *Monk* and Collonel *Morgan*.

According to the Treaty with *France*, *Cromwell* sent over some Forces to aid the *French* in his Wars against *Flanders*, and the *English* were to have *Dunkirk* in consideration thereof; which upon

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ta king of it was accordingly delivered. In the ſame year 1656. *Cromwell* by a Parliament garbled to his mind, was inſtalled L. Protector in *Weſtminſter-Hall*: and a while after, another Plot was diſcovered; Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Dr. *Hewet*, Mr. *Aſton*, and Mr. *Stacy*, ſuffered Death upon the ſame Account, the 2 firſt being Beheaded, and the other Drawn, Hanged and Quartered, being charged to be concerned therein.

Upon *Sept.* 3. 1658 *O. Cromwell* departed this life in *White-Hall*, & lay in State in *Somerſet-houſe* till *Nov.* 23. following, when he was buried with great Pomp in *Weſt. Abby*: After whom his Son *Richard* Succeeded, but was ſoon thruſt out of his Protectorſhip by *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*; who with the reſt of the Army called the *Long Parliament* again; after which ſeveral Gentlemen in *Cheshire* under the conduct of Sir *George Booth* roſe for defence of their Priviledges, but were defeated by *Lambert*; who ſoon after turned out this *remnant* of the *Long Parliament* again, & erected a Government which they called the *Committee of Safety*. All which Revolutions ſtill advanced the Kings Cauſe; *Lambert* now Marches *North* as far as *Newcaſtle* to fight againſt Gen. *Monk*, but his men were unwilling to engage; and in the mean time the *remainder* of the *Long Parliament* had again gotten together, and diſſolved the *Committee of Safety*, and then invited General *Monk* to march with his Army to *London*, which he did accordingly, and was received with Joy, and ſoon after he procured the Diſſolution of that *Long Parliament*; & he calling another upon *April* 25. 1660, His Majeſty having notice thereof, ſent ſeveral Letters to the Lords, Commons, G. *Monk*, &c. and likewiſe His Gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects as followeth,

Charles R.

CHarles *by the Grace of God King of* England, *&c. Defender of the Faith*, &c. *To all our Loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality ſoever, Greeting. If the General Diſtraction and Confuſion which is ſpread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a deſire and longing, that thoſe wounds which have ſo many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can ſay will be to no purpoſe; However after this long ſilence, we have thought it our duty to declare, how much we deſire to contribute thereunto, and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time to obtain the poſſeſſion of that Right which God and Nature hath made our due; ſo we do make it our daily ſuit to the* Divine Providence, *that he will in compaſſion to us and our Subjects, and after ſo long miſery and ſufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion*

Possession of that our Right, with as little blood and damage to our People as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs, by a full and intire Administration of Justice throughout the Land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

And to the end that the fear of punishment may not ingage any Conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country in the Restoration both of King, Peers and People, *to their Just, Ancient, and Fundamental Rights, we do by these Presents declare that we do grant a* Free and General Pardon, *which we are ready upon demand, to pass under Our Great Seal of* England, *to all our Subjects of what degree or Quality soever, who within 40 days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and shall by any publick Act declare their doing so, and that they return to the Loyalty & Obedience of Good subjects: excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament; Those only excepted, let all our Subjects how faulty soever rely upon the Word of a King, solemnly given by this present Declaration, that no Crime whatsoever committed against us, or our Roy. Father, before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, to the least Endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in our Power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or term of distinction from the rest of any of Our best Subjects; We desiring and ordaining, That henceforth all notes of Discord, Separation, and difference of Parties, be utterly aboliſhed amongst all our Subjects, whom we invite, and conjure to a perfect union amongst themselves, under our* Protection, *for the Re-settlement of our just Rights and theirs, in a free Parliament, by which upon the word of a King we will be advised.*

And because the Passion, and uncharitableness of the Times have produced several opinions in Religion, by which men are engaged in Parties and Animosities against each other, which when they shall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Conversation, will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a Liberty to Tender Consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in Question for differences of Opinion in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that

we

we ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament, *as upon mature deliberation ſhall be offered to us for the free granting that Indulgence.*

And becauſe in the continual diſtractions of ſo many years and ſo many & great revolutions, many Grants and Purchaſes of Eſtates have been made to, and by many Officers, Souldiers, and others who are now poſſeſſed of the ſame, and who may be liable to Actions at Law upon ſeveral Titles; We are likewiſe willing, that all ſuch differences, and all things relating to the ſaid Grants, Sales and Purchaſes ſhall be determined in Parliament, *which can beſt provide for the juſt ſatisfaction of all men who are concerned.*

And we do further declare, that we will be ready to conſent to any Act *or* Acts *of* Parl. *to the purpoſes aforeſaid; and for the full ſatisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Souldiers of the Army under the Command of* G. Monk, *and that they ſhall be received into our ſervice upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.*

Given under our Sign *Manual* and Pri. *Signet*, at our Court at *Breda*, 14 day of *Ap.* 1660. in the 12*th* Year of our Reign.

The Parl. being ſate, unanimouſly Voted the reſtoration of his Majeſty to his Kingd. & accordingly upon *May* 29. following, the K. accompanied with the D. of *York* & *Glocester*, and attended with ſeveral Lords & Gentle. arrived at *Dover*, where he was met by divers Noble Perſonages, & among ihe reſt G. *Monk* who was dignified with the George and Garter.

In *Octob.* following ſeveral of the Regicides of the late King were Tryed in the *Old-Baily*; & ten of them Executed at *Charing-Croſs*; that is, *Tho. Harriſon*, *Jo. Carew*. *Adr. Scrop*, *Jo. Jones*, *Greg. Clement*, *Tho. Scot*, *John Cook*, *Hugh Peters*, *Francis Hacker*, and *Daniel Axtell*.

Mary Prin. of *Orange* coming over to Viſit the K. her Brother, fell ſick of the Small Pox & dyed; & in *Jan.* after one *Venner* a Winecooper, & ſome others in whom he had infuſed *Enthuſiaſtick* Princi. put themſelves in Arms, & came into the City, but being oppoſed, they kil. 22 of his Ma. Sub. and about as many of them were ſlain, and the reſt were taken and diſperſed; 11 of whom, and *Vennor* their leader, were executed in ſeveral places in the City.

In the beginning of the next year P. *Henry* D. of *Glocester* died, and upon *Apr.* 23. following, being St. *Georg*'s day, His M. K. *Charles* the 2. was Crowned at *Weſtmin.* with great ſplendor & Solemnity; having the day before made a Magnificent Paſſage from the *Tower* through the City of *London* (where 4 curious Pageants were erected,) to *White*. And here we ſhall conclude this abſtract of ſo many various affairs, wiſhing all happineſs to his Majeſty, and the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion for ever. *FINIS.*

There are lately published Three very useful, pleasant and necessary Books, which are sold by Nath. Crouch *at the* Bell *next door to the Widow* Kemp's *Coffee-House in* Ex. Alley, *over against the* Royal Exchange *in* Cornhill.

I. A Dmirable Curiosities, Rarities, and Wonders in *England Scotland* and *Ireland*, or an Account of many Remarkable Persons and Places, and likewise of the Battels, Sieges, Prodigious Earthquakes, Tempests, Inundations, Thunders, Lightnings, Fires, Murders, and other Considerable Occurrences and Accidents for many Hundred years past, and among others: The Preaching of K. *Henry* 3. to the Monks at *Winchester*: The *Quo Warranto* sent over *England* by K *Edw* 1. The manner of the horrid Murther of King *Edward* 2. The Conspiracy at *Oxford* (and *Shrewsbury*) against K *Hen.* 4. discovered by the Duke of *York*, and the Articles charged against the King. The Battle of *Bosworth*, and the miserable death of *Crookbackt Richard*. The beheading of the Lord *Cromwell*, and the Earl of *Essex*, with their last Speeches. The Rebellion of the Papists in *Cornwall &c.* against the Common Prayer in K. *Edw.* 6. time, and the Kings Letter to them. The Rebellion under *Kett* the Tanner, and his Laws Ordinances in *The Oak of Reformation* near *Norwich*. The *Association* in Queen *Elizabeths* time. The Proceedings against *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, Mother to King *James*, with her last words on the Scaffold. The Sighing and Groaning Tree in *Lincolnshire*. The Lady riding naked through *Coventry*. The dying Speeches of Queen *Elizabeth*. Together with the Natural and Artificial Rarities in every County in *England* and very many other Observable matters, as they are recorded by the most Authentick and Credible Historians of former and latter Ages; Adorned with the lively description of several memorable things therein contained Ingraven on Copper Plates By *R.B.* Author of the *History of the Wars of* England, &c. *The Remarks of* London, &c. *And the Wonderfull Prodigies*, &c. Price One Shilling.

II. WOnderful Prodigies of Judgment and Mercy, discovered in above Three Hundred Memorable Histories, containing 1. Dreadful Judg

Judgments upon Atheists, Blasphemers, Perjured Villains, *&c.* As of several forsworn Wretches carried away by the Devil, and how an horrid Blasphemer was turned into a black Dog, *&c.* 2. The Miserable ends of many Magicians, Witches, Conjurers, *&c.* with divers strange Apparitions, and Illusions of the Devil; and several real discourses between 4 or 5 famous Divines, and Satan, With the strange feats of the Devil of *Mascon.* 3. Remarkable Predictions, and Presages of approaching Death, and how the event has been answerable, particularly as to A. B. *Laud*, the late D. of *Buckingham*, and others; With an account of some Appeals to Heaven against Unjust Judges, and what vengeance hath fallen upon them. 4. The Wicked Lives, and woful deaths of several Popes, Apostates, and Persecutors; with the manner how K. *Henry* the 2. was whipt by the Popes Order by the Monks of *Canterbury*; and how the Queen of *Bohemia*, a desperate Persecutor of the Christians, was swallowed up in the Earth alive, with all her followers, *&c.* 5. Fearful Judgments upon bloody Tyrants, Murderers, *&c.* with the terrible Cruelties used by those Monsters of Men; *Nero*, *Heliogabalus*, *Domitian*, and others upon the Christians, and of the constancy of several famous Martyrs under all their Tortures; also how *Popiel*, K. of *Poland*, (a Cruel Tyrant,) his Queen and Children were devoured by Rats; and how a Town near *Tripoly* in *Barbary*, with the Men, Women, Children, Beasts, Trees, Walls, Rooms, Cats, Dogs, Mice, and all that belonged to the place, were turn'd into perfect Stone, (to be seen at this day,) for the horrid crimes of the Inhabitants; also the wonderful discovery of several Murders, *&c.* 6. Admirable Deliverances from imminent Dangers, and Deplorable Distresses at Sea and Land. Lastly, Divine Goodness to Penitents, with the Dying Thoughts of several famous Men, concerning a future state after this life, as St. *Austin*, The Emp. *Charles* 5. *Philip* 3. K. of *Spain*. Prince *Henry*. The E. of *Northampton*. *Gallæcius*. *H. Grotius Salmasius*. Sir *F. Walsingham*. Sir *P. Sydney*. Sir *H Wotton*. A. B. *Usher*. E. of *Rochester*. L. Chief Justice *Hales*, &

others;

others, Faithfully Collected from Ancient and Modern Authors of undoubted Authority and Credit, and imbellished with divers Pictures of several remarkable passages therein. Price One Shilling.

III. HIstorical Remarques and Observations of the Ancient and present State of *London* and *Westminster*, shewing the Foundations, Wall, Gates, Towers, Bridges, Churches, Rivers, Wards, Halls, Companies, Government, Courts, Hospitals, Schools, Inns of Court, Charters, Franchises, and Priviledges thereof; with an Account of the most Remarkable Accidents, as to Wars, Fires, Plagues, and other occurrences, for above 900 years past, in and about these Cities; and among other particulars, the Poisoning of K. *John* by a Monk; The Resolution of K. *Henry* 3. utterly to destroy and consume the City of *London* with Fire, for joyning with the Barons against him and his seizing their Charters, Liberties and Customs into his hands; The Rebellion of *Wat Tyler*, who was slain by the Lord Mayor in *Smithfield*, and the Speech of *Jack Straw* at his Execution; the deposing of K. *Rich.* 2. and his mournful Speech at his resigning the Crown, with the manner of his being Murdered: The D. of *York*'s coming into the Parliament, and claiming the Crown in K. *Henry* 6. time. The Murder of K. *Henry* 6. and likewise of *Edw.* 5 and his Brother, by *Rich.* 3. called Crook-back; The Execution of *Empson* and *Dudley*; the Insurrection in *London* in K. *Henry* 8. time and how 411 Men & Women went through the City in their Shifts, and Ropes about their necks to *Westm.* Hall, where they were pardoned by the King: The Speeches of Q. *Ann Bullen*, the Lord Protector, & Q. *Jane Gray* at their several Deaths upon *Tower-hill*.

With severall other Remarques in all the Kings and Queens Reigns to this Year 1681. And a description of the manner of the Tryal of the late L. *Stafford* in *West.* Hall; Illustrated with Pictures of the most considerable matters, curiously Ingraven on Copper Plates, with the Arms of the 65 Companies of *London*, and the time of their Incorporating, by *Rich. Burton*, Author of the History of the Wars of *England*, &c. Price One Shilling.

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